



# THE LAST DAYS OF NAPOLEON

*From the Vela Statue in the Louvre*

*The*  
OPINIONS *and* REFLECTIONS  
*of* NAPOLEON

EDITED BY  
LEWIS CLAFLIN BREED

"We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man without gaining something by him"—CARLYLE



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TO THE MEMORY OF  
CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE  
AN  
AMERICAN CITIZEN  
THIS WORK IS DEDICATED



#### NOTE BY THE COMPILER

Among the men who during the preparation of this work, offered encouragement, and advice, was the late Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, and its inscription to him was an acknowledgement of this, which he kindly accepted. .

## INTRODUCTION

**T**HE MASS of material at the command of any person attempting the task upon which I have been engaged is enormous; however, if one confines himself pretty strictly to the original documents—always excepting Napoleon's correspondence\*—the work is more easily handled. In my labors, I have, I might say, discovered some rare books, and in libraries, some so valuable, that use of them had to be made in the rooms.

There will be found to be some repetitions, owing to the fact that Napoleon dictated to several people. Also in some instances it is difficult to decide under which head the subject-matter properly belongs.

Referring in detail to the book, it will be noted some space is devoted to Napoleon's ideas and plans in his early life. These are offered as an indication of the extent to which his ambition to become distinguished had even then entered his soul, and incidentally present an interesting psychological study.

A good deal of space is allotted to government, politics, and diplomacy, as his chief occupation was that of a statesman and ruler. The popular conception of Napoleon is wide of the mark; in the minds of many people his time was principally devoted to military operations. While he was undoubtedly the greatest general of modern times, and fought many battles, yet the time he actually spent in the field only comprises about six and one half years. As he himself explains, after he became ruler of France all his military operations were either part of a plan of statecraft, or forced upon him by the exigencies of the situation.

\* Comprises 32 volumes

For the reason that his military genius was the chief means that brought about his advancement in the beginning of his career, and that his campaigns, especially after he became First Consul, were conducted on a large scale, to refer to which in even a limited way would require several volumes, and the fact that such works are easily available, I have included only a few excerpts on the science of war from the books largely devoted to the Napoleonic campaigns.

Generally speaking, these opinions and reflections are given in chronological order, and explanatory footnotes supplied where they seem necessary. The major portion of the book deals with his life at St. Helena, a period when he had requisite leisure to review his career, which he then regarded as closed.

His sayings (to give in a single term the subject-matter of this volume, which is mainly devoted to presenting some examples) were at the time he gave them utterance, a source of inspiration and enlightenment to millions, and are still performing this office. Doubtless, this influence will pass on to unborn generations of people. The more one studies "this universal intelligence from which nothing escapes," the profounder becomes the conviction "that there is no master-mind of which we can less afford to be ignorant." As an historic character he belongs with Julius Caesar, in respect to his genius for organization and administration.

The man of modern times who above all others wielded the greatest, most permanent, and far-reaching influence on his fellow men of all civilized peoples undoubtedly was Napoleon Bonaparte. Independent of personal aggrandizement, his main incentive was to win glory while living and to leave the impress of his genius on coming generations,

and so live in the mind of mankind for all time During nearly six years of exile at St Helena, those years of contemplation of his career in retrospect, he became convinced that his life long belief that his ambitious aim could and would be realized, was thorough and complete, and brought to him in the closing years of his life the comfort and satisfaction which a grand purpose, successfully accomplished brings to great minds

Those persons who pronounce the career of Napoleon a failure, do not grasp its full significance They are thinking merely of his dethronement, and leave out all the rest The mere fact that over one hundred thousand volumes have been written during the past hundred years on his life and times, shows the great importance the world attaches to his career and indicates the widespread interest in the man and his life work

It is not claimed that he made no mistakes, and while his was, all things considered, as great an intellect as was ever possessed by man, he was not superhuman, and like every other member of the human family had, in his nature, good and evil propensities

No man had greater kindness of heart, or who on every occasion more readily and fully extended sympathy, encouragement, counsel, and material aid without reference to the recipient's station in life The loyal devotion and love of people of all classes and nationalities which he drew to himself constantly from the beginning to the end of his wonderful career, and the reverence which is paid to his memory, compels the acceptance of a belief in this trait of his character

Nevertheless, there was that in his nature which to himself, at least, viewed from the standpoint of the results which his all-embracing, far sighted plans comprehended,

fully justified the terrible conflicts necessary to carry them out, referring to the wars which were started from his own initiative and not to those forced upon him.

The brilliancy of his great military genius and the empire-making results of his originality in strategy, celerity of movement and combination, have seized upon the imagination of mankind, and the statesman, organizer and originator of comprehensive public improvements and reforms is often lost sight of. These labors covered a far greater proportion of the twenty years of his public life than was devoted to his military campaigns.

With Napoleon, the sole ground for recognition and promotion, was ability—birth, rank and wealth (without the capacity to become a man of affairs), counted for nothing. In this he set an example worthy of being followed, and it has, in fact, been so generally and extensively adopted as to excite no comment in our day.

This many-sided man covered the entire range of human interests in the reach of his all-embracing comprehension, through devoting himself to the re-habilitation of the finances of France,—to the codification of the laws, the re-establishment of religious services, the promotion of education, the drama, art, science, manufacture, agriculture, and the inauguration of public works, such as roads, harbors and public buildings; yet he had time to superintend the organization and equipment of his armies and navies from the greatest to the smallest details, and plan the campaigns which the exigencies of his designs, or the schemes of foreign powers rendered necessary; while in connection with all this, it was required that his attention should be given to diplomatic measures, as long as these could be of service, in avoiding ruptures with other nations, to guiding the

affairs of auxiliary powers, and frustrating the plots of royalists in his capital.

His powerful imagination was one of the chief of his great faculties. Through its exercise, he created in his mind, both the possibilities of what through means at his command might be accomplished, and also the difficulties to be overcome.

LEWIS CLAFLIN BREED

*Boston, November, 1925*



## SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. He was the fourth child of Charles Bonaparte and of Letitia, née Ramolina. In 1771 he was baptized in the Cathedral of Ajaccio. In 1779 he entered the Royal Military School of Brienne-le-Château where he remained upwards of five years, when he was admitted to the Royal Military School of Paris. The following year his father died. He left this school in the Fall, having been appointed Lieutenant and proceeded to his regiment which was stationed at Valence. During his connection with the army, he obtained leave of absence to visit Corsica, and while there engaged in revolutionary movements. On the occasion of a subsequent visit he was, on his return to France, in May, 1792, dismissed for absence without leave.

In the Summer of that year, he witnessed the attack of the mob on the Tuilleries in Paris. In August he was reinstated and made Captain. From September, 1792, to June, 1793, he was in Corsica engaged in revolutionary attempts, till, having declared against Paoli, he with his mother and her family were obliged to move to France. In the meantime, France declared a Republic and guillotined Louis XVI.

In the Summer of 1793, Napoleon was with his Company at Nice, and from October to December, participated in the reduction of Toulon, through which he gained promotion to the rank of General. From 1793, to the Summer of 1795, he served in the Army under various commissions, when he was struck off the list of employed generals for disobedience of orders. In October, he was engaged to act in the defence of the Convention from the revolt of the Section.

The following Spring he was appointed Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy, and married Josephine de Beauharnais, leaving soon after for Italy. He was then twenty-six years of age.

From 1796 to 1798, he was engaged in conducting the campaigns in Italy, returning to Paris at the conclusion of peace. In 1798 he organized the Egyptian Expedition, and sailed from Toulon May 19th for Egypt, where he remained until the Fall of 1799.

Soon after his return to Paris, as the result of 18th Brumaire, Napoleon became First Consul. In 1800 he was engaged in the Marengo campaign. In 1802, he was proclaimed First Consul for life, and in 1804, crowned as Emperor. In 1805, he was engaged in the Ulm campaign, which was followed in 1805 by the Jena campaign. In 1807, wars with Russia occupied his atten-



tion and in 1808 the conquest of Spain. War with Austria followed in 1809, and in December of that year, Josephine was divorced.

In 1810 Napoleon married Maria Louise of Austria. He was then forty years old. The following year the King of Rome, his son, was born. In the Summer of 1812 the Russian campaign took place. Napoleon entered Moscow September 14 and commenced his retreat October 19, arriving in Paris December 18. In the Spring of 1813, the Leipsic campaign was engaged in and a series of battles were fought during the following nine months, terminating in the Spring of 1814 with the capitulation of Paris. April 2nd Napoleon abdicated and on May 4th he took up his abode on the Island of Elba.

In the Spring of 1815, Napoleon quitted Elba and entered Paris March 20th. The battle of Waterloo took place June 18. June 29, Napoleon left Malmaison for Rochefort, surrendered to the English and was assigned to the Island of St. Helena, where he arrived October 15. His death took place May 5, 1821, at the age of fifty-one years and eight months. The body of the Emperor was disintombed, brought to France and placed in the Invalides December 15, 1840.

## THE PERSONALITY OF NAPOLEON

Bourrienne gives a valuable description of the First Consul as he looked in the year 1800, when about thirty years of age. "His finely shaped head, his superb forehead, his pale and elongated visage, and his meditative look, have been transferred to the canvas, but the quickness of his glance, and the rapidity of his expression were beyond imitation. It may be truly said that he had a particular look for every thought that arose in his mind, an appropriate visage for every impulse that agitated his soul."

In the Spring of 1802, Madame d'Arblay (Fanny Burney) joined her husband who was in Paris where he had been engaged in seeking to recover any part of his natural inheritance. While there, from time to time she wrote to her relatives in England. One of her letters gives an account of her successful attempt to see the First Consul.

"At length the door of the audience chamber was thrown wide open and an officer descended the three steps into our apartment and called out, Le Premier Consul!

"You will readily believe nothing more was necessary to obtain attention; not a soul spoke or stirred as he and his suite passed along. I had a view so near, though so brief, of his face, as to

be very much struck by it. It is of a deeply impressive cast, pale even to sallowness, while not only in the eyes, but in every feature—care, thought, melancholy, and meditation are strongly marked, with so much of character, nay, genius, and so penetrating a seriousness, or rather sadness, as powerfully to sink into an observer's mind.

"Yet, though the busts and medallions I have seen are, in general, such good resemblances that I think I should have known him untold, he has by no means the look to be expected from Bonaparte, but rather that of a profoundly studious and contemplative man, who 'o'er books consumes' not only the 'midnight oil' but his own daily strength, 'and wastes the puny body to decay' by abstruse speculation and theoretic plans. But the look of the commander who heads his own army, who fights his own battles, who conquers every difficulty by personal exertion, who executes all he plans, who performs even all he suggests, whose ambition is of the most enterprising, and whose bravery is of the most daring cast—this, which is the look to be expected from the situation, and the exploits which have led to it, the spectator watches for in vain. The plainness, also, of his dress, so conspicuously contrasted by the finery of all around him, conspires forcibly with his countenance, so 'sicklied o'er with the pale hue of thought,' to give him far more the air of a student than of a warrior."

Later on she witnessed the review, of which she writes "It was far more superb than anything I have ever beheld. Bonaparte, mounting a beautiful and spirited white horse, accompanied by his generals rode round the ranks, holding his bridle indifferently in either hand. After making his round, the First Consul stationed himself opposite to the window at which I was placed; and thence he presented some swords of honour spreading out one arm with an air and mien which changed his looks from that of scholastic severity to one that was highly military and commanding."

In the same year, Lord Aberdeen visited Paris, when he had much conversation with First Consul and was greatly fascinated by his singular beauty. He used to say "that Napoleon's smile was the most beautiful he ever saw, and that his eye was wholly unlike that of any other man."

Mrs. St. George, writing from Paris in 1803 to Mary Leadbeater, says "I have been presented to Bonaparte and his wife, who received with great state, ceremony, and magnificence. His manner is very good, but the expression of his countenance is not attractive. Curran says he has the face of a gloomy tyrant. Another compared him to a corpse with living eyes and a painter remarked to me that the smile on his lips never seemed to accord with the rest of his features."

A remarkable event of the "Hundred Days" was the ceremony at "Champ de Mai," where Napoleon met the deputies from the Departments, and distributed eagles to the representatives of his forces. A young American who was a student at one of the colleges in Paris, was present during the whole of this latter ceremony, and in relating his experiences of the day (June 1, 1815) states in an article printed in the Atlantic Monthly many years ago, that he saw Napoleon more distinctly than at any previous time. His account reads as follows: "I stood among my friends, the soldiers who lined the way. His four brothers preceded him in one carriage, while he sat alone in a state coach, all glass and gold, to which pages clung wherever they could find a footing.

"He was splendidly attired, and wore a Spanish hat with drooping feathers. As he moved slowly through the crowd, he bowed to the right and left, not in the hasty, abrupt way which is generally attributed to him, but in a calm, dignified, though absent manner.

"His face was one not to be forgotten. I saw it repeatedly; but whenever I bring it up, it comes before me, not as it appeared from the window of the Tuileries, or when riding among his troops, or when standing, with folded arms or his hands behind him, as they defiled before him; but it rises on my vision as it looked that morning, under the nodding plumes, smooth massive, and so tranquil, that it seemed impossible a storm of passion could ever ruffle it. The complexion was clear olive, without a particle of color, no trace was on it to indicate what agitated his soul. The repose of that marble countenance told nothing of the past, nor of anxiety for the deadly struggle that awaited him. The cheering sounds around him did not change him; they fell on an ear that heard them not. His eye glanced on the multitude but it saw them not. There was more machinery than soul in the recognition as his head instinctively swayed toward them. The idol of stone was there, joyless and impassive, taking its lifeless part in this last pageant. But the thinking, active man was elsewhere, and returned only when he found himself in the presence of, delegated France, and in the more congenial occupation which followed that part of the day's celebration."

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THE OPINIONS AND REFLECTIONS  
OF NAPOLEON

"Great men are meteors designed to burn so that the earth may be lighted."

NAPOLEON

"We must not pass through this world without leaving traces which may commend our memory to posterity."

NAPOLEON

# I

## THE IDEAS OF HIS YOUTH

"A King who would be really a King is always the master of his people. If I were King I would prove the truth of what I advanced"—YOUNG NAPOLEON

As THE title of this volume indicates, it is designed to present in Napoleon's own language, his opinions and reflections on a variety of subjects, as written or dictated by him, or quoted by various contemporaries. Innumerable biographies enable the would be student of his career to become familiar with it. Even a somewhat limited selection of his views on various topics would make a large book, the compiler has consequently contented himself with meagre reference to his wonderful history.

A careful perusal of the accounts of Napoleon's childhood will lead the reader to believe that he must have been rather precocious, and it is evident that he had some bent toward a soldier's life. It is doubtless a fact that most children of the Southern climes mature earlier than those of other regions. Beside the effect of his environment, in which military associations were common, his natural disposition led him to wish to exert authority over his playmates in his boyhood days.

ONE DAY somebody was making a warm panegyric upon the Viscount de Turenne, when the young Corsican was present. A lady in company observed, "Yes, he was a great man, but I would admire him more if he had not burned the Palatinate!"—"What did that signify," answered Napoleon eagerly, "if it was necessary to his glory?"—What a reply!



How truly did it give promise of all that we have since seen!—He was then fourteen years of age.<sup>1\*</sup>

HIS UNCLE FESCH more than once found him with a *Life of Cromwell* in his hand. One day he asked him what he thought of that usurper. "Cromwell," he answered, "is a fine work, but it is incomplete." The uncle, who thought the nephew spoke of the book, asked what fault he had to find with the author. "It is not of the book I speak," answered Napoleon hastily, "it is of the man."<sup>2</sup>

M. DUPUIS, who was at that time principal of a large school at Brienne, where Napoleon was a student, happening to be at Marseilles in company with the latter, the conversation turned upon the misfortunes which environ the crown in all times of revolution.

"Do you know why kings are to be pitied?" asked Napoleon on a sudden.

"You will perhaps tell us," answered M. Dupuis, astonished at the young scholar's forwardness.

"Yes," replied Napoleon, "and I will venture to assert that it is more difficult to conduct your school than the first kingdom in the world. The reason is, that your pupils do not belong to you, and that a king who would be really a king, is always the master of his people." Every one began instantly to exclaim against the sophism. "Talk as much as you please," answered the young scholar, "but if I were a king I would prove the truth of what I advance!"—For fifteen years he has indeed proved to us that it was not altogether a sophism.<sup>3</sup>

\* The sources from which the quotations are taken throughout the volume will be found, arranged consecutively, in the Index, pages.

REMARKABLE LETTER TO HIS FATHER WRITTEN WHEN TWELVE  
YEARS OLD

Military School, Brienne, 5th April, 1781

"Father,

"If I am not to be allowed the means, either by you or my protectors, to keep up a more honourable appearance at the school I am in, send for me home, and that immediately I am quite disgusted with being looked upon as a pauper, and of seeing my insolent companions, who have only fortune to recommend them, smile at my poverty, there is not one, but who is far inferior to me in those noble sentiments which animate my soul. What, Sir, shall your son continually be the butt of a few paltry *purse proud* fellows, who sneeringly joke upon the privations I experience? No, father, I hope not, if my condition cannot be ameliorated, remove me from Brienne, put me to some mechanical trade, if it must be so, let me but find myself among my equals, and I shall answer for it, I will soon be their superior. You may judge of my despair by my proposal. once more I repeat it, I would sooner be fore man in a workshop, than be sneered at in a first-rate academy.

"Do not imagine that this letter is dictated through a vain desire of indulging myself in expensive amusements, they have not the smallest temptation for me, I only experience a wish to show my fellow students, that I have the means of procuring them as well as they

"BUONAPARTE"

## CRITICISM OF HIS SCHOOLMATES

\* \* \* "I was examining," said he, "that group of young blockheads, who are trifling away the most precious part of their life; and after all, what are their amusements? they

are harassing and fatiguing themselves with throwing a ball, the surface of which, not one of them can explain mathematically; I am well aware that their age requires some relaxation; but can none more noble be found to employ them? For instance, walking, conversation, the aspect of the heavens, and of the planets; these, Dangeais, are recreations worthy of youth, and calculated to cast it in the mould of genius; really they make me smile with pity. Come with me, Dangeais, let us retire into the most shady walk, I will read you Cromwell's life. He was a man indeed! What genius, what boldness, what resources he possessed! How great, how fortunate, how *dreaded* he was! Why did he take a part with the assassins of his monarch? Did he not know that regicide is at all times, and in all countries, considered as infamous, even if he supply the place of his murdered king? If he wished for the death of his ruler, in order to reign himself, could he not have confided the office to others, and not appear himself as an agent? Time can never efface the giving of his signature for the death of Charles I. Posterity will never forgive him this unfortunate oversight. Notwithstanding, I would willingly limit my existence to half its period, could I but resemble him for only one year!"

#### COMMENTS ON HIS QUARREL WITH A SCHOOLMATE

\* \* \* "It must be confessed," answered he, with a disdainful smile, "that you are very short-sighted! Will you for ever judge things by appearances? Before we give our opinion on any thing, Dangeais, we ought to be able to read the human heart, and dive into circumstances. You were, you say, uneasy on my account. Well, now, I was quite the reverse; Pougin-des-Ilets had grossly insulted me; you perceived that I was for a moment absorbed in thought; You

supposed, no doubt, that excessive rage was the cause of my silence, not in the least I was considering within myself what advantage I could take of the insult just offered me I thought I perceived a chance of never again receiving one, it struck me immediately I knew the violence of my expressions in the note, I even wished it had been worded more strongly, more vehemently, and more likely to cause a reprimand, but such as it was, it answered my purpose I figured to myself, that with passion depicted on my countenance, and forcibly described in my note, I should excite the attention of my companions, the master would be informed of it, I shall be sent for, thought I, and reprimanded, my answers shall be laconic, but determined I will persist in my projects of revenge, I shall be punished, that is what I aim at, without that my object would have failed My cause is good, and my protector powerful He is but a few leagues' distance, I will write to him, and my letter shall be worded differently from what any other person would write, it will interest him in my favour, by flattering his self love, I shall then gain my point, and the impression it will leave, will shelter me for ever from the insults of my companions Has it not turned out just as I foresaw? No one here, be assured of it, will hereafter think proper to insult me I am certain, moreover, that if I wished for their friendship I could easily obtain it Now then, tell me, whether you do not think that I wisely calculated on the consequences and the result I have gained what ten years would never have obtained for me, a reputation of audacity and intrepidity You, Dangenis, who know that the education I receive here and M Marbeuf's protection, are my only resource and expectation, could you suppose that I would sacrifice these advantages to the pleasure of revenging myself of a giddy boy? If you

imagine it, you know but little of my disposition; for, if my plan had not been so well concerted, I should certainly have lost both my station at school, and my support of my generous protector. Away with such revenge as would only injure myself! thanks to heaven, that has not been my error this time, and the success has exceeded my expectation. In the conversation I had with the Count, I plainly pointed out to him, that the indigence of my family exposed me to the contempt of my companions, by refusing me the smallest trifle to partake of their amusements; my generous patron strongly interested in my behalf, owing to what he was totally unacquainted with, made me a present of a considerable sum which will enable me for some time to shield myself from the contempt of my comrades; depend upon it, policy far surpasses both knowledge and prudence."

#### HE BORROWS MONEY OF A SCHOOLMATE

\* \* \* "How came you to know that I wanted money?" answered he rather petulantly; then placing his hands on his forehead, "Excuse me, Dangeais: I do, indeed want money; my parents neglect me: I wish I were dead. But it shall not last long: I am determined to write to them. How much can you lend me? I will give you my note. If in a month, you are not repaid, I will give you my watch, some of my linen, forty or fifty volumes that belong to me; and then I will turn truant and go on board the first vessel I meet with; I will leave Europe and bid eternal farewell to my ungrateful parents."

\* \* \* "I would give forty pistoles, Dangeais, not to be reduced to borrow twenty of you, it gives you a claim, a pre-eminence over me." "I know you are a man, and conse-

quently susceptible of taking whatever advantage might offer, if in the course of a month, any difference should happen between us, you would say to yourself, if not publicly, "He may think himself lucky, that I lent him twenty pistoles"

\* \* \* "Nevertheless, my judgment is correct See how my parents behave towards me like egotists and unfeeling beings but if they forget me, I will give them reason to think of me in no pleasing manner"

#### COMPLAINS OF HIS LACK OF FUNDS

Military School, Brienne, 23rd April, 1784

"Dear Father,

"Since the period when Mr Marbeuf got me, through his interest, into the Royal School at Brienne, you have probably imagined you had nothing further to do with your son if such had been your idea, I have only to say, that I am grieved both for your sake as well as mine You will thereby lose the pleasure of seeing me happy, and I, that of acknowledging your kindness Imagine to yourself, the dilemma I am reduced to, and then, justify, if possible, in your mind the silence you keep with respect to the urgent requests I have made you Absolute necessity, be assured, impelled me to make them How fortunate is he, who can do without the assistance of others, who has nothing to ask even of his relations! Who compelled you to place me here? Why did you not consult your means! He who cannot afford to make a lawyer of his son, makes him a carpenter Besides, ought not your pride to be wounded, by knowing the ignoble figure I cut among the high born youths that surround me? Your son in actual want in the midst of young persons who want for nothing!

Father, this way of proceeding cannot last long. You have a house at Sartene, sell it. Let my brothers' education be less expensive; let my sisters work, to maintain themselves; one word for all, support me honourably in the station you have placed me in. I am on the point of setting off for the capital: the journey cannot be undertaken without expense. I have been compelled to borrow twenty pistoles on my own note for a month. I flatter myself, that on the receipt of this, you will forthwith remit me the amount to discharge it. If I should fail repaying this loan, I shall be completely dishonored and perhaps lost with regard to you. As to the style of this letter, you will, I trust, excuse the harshness of it, when you call to mind the humiliations I secretly experience, and above all the noble ardour of my sentiments. Your son, Sir, is but sixteen years of age, but his ideas are equal in extent to those of a man of fifty. While honouring you as the author of existence, I cannot, it is true, express to you a puerile affection. If you can foresee the result that may ensue from my possessing so strong and masculine a character, you will readily perceive that, one day or other, your son will compensate you, a hundred-fold, for the sacrifices you will have made for him. Should you hasten to reply to the present in proportion to the urgency of the motives which dictate it, I shall hear from you before my departure for the Military College. Remember me kindly to all my friends and acquaintance.

“BUONAPARTE”

#### COMMENTS ON THE GREAT MEN OF THE PAST

“It is not, exactly the truth of the relation that I seek in these books; what attaches me to these important writings, is the political knowledge they contain. Let the lofty deeds attributed to these illustrious men be true or false.

that is nothing to me, I find in them great models to copy, if fortune and events should favour me. What is it to me, whether the portraits of an Alexander, a Sylla, a Cæsar, a Charles the Twelfth, or a Cromwell be imaginary, or that a painter has flattered them? Are they not magnificent compositions, which a young man, full of courage and ambition, cannot sufficiently study? Whatever these *giants* of the human species may have been, I wish to be as mighty as history paints them, if it were possible, that fortune would at this present moment, place at my disposal the circumstances and means to imitate them: be assured my friend, I would endeavour to give myself their gigantic appearance, and even endeavour to surpass it.

\* \* \* "My ambition may indeed, at present, appear to have a tinge of the romantic about it, but let me alone for that, I shall be very fortunate or die very young, if I do not verify it."

#### REBUKED FOR CRITICISING THE MILITARY ACADEMY'S REGULATIONS

\* \* \* Napoleon was silent immediately, for at that time young people were educated in the observance of great respect to those who were older than themselves, but his heart was full. He soon brought back the conversation to the same subject, and at length his language became so violent that my uncle exclaimed

"Silence! it ill becomes you who are educated by the King's bounty to speak as you do." I have often heard my mother say that she thought Napoleon would have been stifled with rage. He was pale and red in the space of a moment.



"I am not educated at the King's expense," said he, "but at the expense of the State."

"A fine distinction, truly!" returned my uncle. "Is not the King the State? I will not suffer you to speak thus disrespectfully of your benefactor in my presence."

"I will say nothing that may be displeasing to you, sir," replied the young man; "only give me leave to add that, *if I were the Sovereign*, and had power to alter these regulations, I would change them so that they should be for the advantage of all."

I need not point the reader's attention to the remarkable words *if I were the Sovereign*. When he really did become a sovereign it is well known on what an admirable footing he established his military schools. I am convinced he long retained the recollection of the painful humiliations he had suffered at the Military Schools of Paris. He certainly was no favourite there.<sup>5</sup>

## II

### THE IDEAS OF HIS YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD

"Dangeais, you do not feel the glow of heroism and noble ambition. The man actuated by these two great passions does not even consider whether those who preceded him in the same career, expired on a bed of down or by the dagger of an assassin."

YOUNG BONAPARTE

THE ADAGE that "the boy is father to the man" seems to have been exemplified in the case of Napoleon. After making due allowance for the enthusiasm of youth, impatience of restraint and the moroseness which his poverty entailed upon his sensitive disposition, one may clearly perceive the birth of his overmastering ambition to become distinguished in these letters and in these conferences, which in after years were given to the world by a fellow student.\*

HE RALLIES HIS FRIEND AND FORMER FELLOW STUDENT

\* \* \* "Dangeais,† you do not feel the glow of heroism and noble ambition. The man actuated by these two great passions, does not even consider whether those who preceded him in the same career, expired on a bed of down, or by the dagger of an assassin. In the destinies of those heroes who no longer exist, and in the existence he anticipates for himself, he only sees and reckons on the glorious moments. The dangers to which those great men were exposed, and those of which he himself may be the victim, do not even enter his imagination. Such at least would I be, if fortune, forgetting who I am, would assist me to become what I desire."

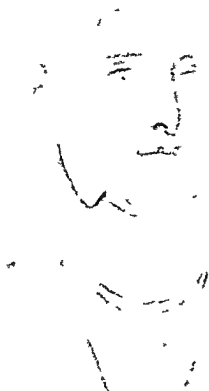
\* Undoubtedly Bourrienne though the book was published as having been prepared by Mdle R. D'Ancemont.

† "Nom de plume" originally assumed by the author of the Memorial.

\* \* \* "I am in such a good humour, that I am disposed to bear with any sarcasms you may throw out; this is a day of permission and favours I grant. Unfortunately for you, your jokes convince me more than ever, that you are but a short-sighted observer of men and circumstances. If it were otherwise, you must confess that my joy ought to be a hundred times greater than yours, since we are both raised on the same rank." \* \* \* "If you wish to know, I will acquaint you: listen to me. After your under-lieutenancy, how do you wish to be promoted, to be a lieutenant, a captain, a colonel? If you should reach this rank, then, indeed, you would fancy yourself the happiest man alive. Well, suppose me colonel, with a certainty of never rising higher, I would blow my brains out. I aspire to more than a mere colonelship."

\* \* \* "How fortunate you fellows are, to have rich relations leaving you such inheritances; as for me, if four-fifths of the human race were to die, I should not inherit a sixpence, and everything would remain in its place on this spot of earth! Or, perhaps, every thing on it would be insupportable for certain individuals, had not nature formed them in such a manner as to make up for the unjust distribution of the good things of this world."

\* \* \* "Well, be it so, we will correspond; in fact, I expect to have much information to impart to you; only swear to me, by every thing you hold most dear, that my correspondence shall never be made public before my death; but, hold, take no oaths, for I put no trust in them; merely promise me to be discreet, by the tender interest you have



**IONA PARTI AT TWENTY TWO YEARS OF AGE**

*After a Portrait by Greuze*

Yes, I reply at an empty and circumstance will favor me we can talker didn't it

longer the same, nor in the same place. What, you will ask, is the king doing? Alas! he is acting on the part of a good man, and of an excellent father of a family; he speaks with mildness and goodnature to men who deserve to run the gauntlet. I would have made any sacrifice to have been his minister for only a month. I am only one-and-twenty, my friend, but I would have handled the innovators rather roughly. The prince, no doubt, would have been afflicted at my severity, for his fault is, that he is too indulgent; but his family, his faithful servants, and every honest man in France, would have thanked me in their hearts. The very dregs of the people, whom I would, for the moment, have opposed, would now be under an obligation to me; for in the manner they are proceeding, it may yet cost them the last drop of their blood by their opposition; and yet, to stop the first inroads of an inundation, which will perhaps overwhelm the whole of Europe, the plan to be pursued was but trifling. I would have commissioned six regiments of cavalry, or more if necessary, to bring before me the haughty innovators, and thus would I have addressed them: 'Gentlemen, if it be within your jurisdiction to remonstrate with your sovereign, surely it was not becoming your duty, I will even say your dignity, to imitate those ballad-singers, and place yourselves at the corner of every street to carol forth couplets to the populace, which the king alone ought to have been acquainted with. You have not only committed an error, but even a crime. Be it as it may, the king, my master, as just as he is indulgent, will take your complaints into consideration, and forgive you, on condition, that you will no longer secretly tamper with the people. If you counteract this order, you may expect to be sent to Toulon or Marseilles, to ply the oar as galley slaves.' A threat,

by the by, which I would quickly and strenuously have put into execution, if the delinquents had swerved in the least from their duty. This remonstrance, given in private which I would have backed by that which causes every undertaking to succeed, an imposing force, ready for action, would, without fail, have repressed the indiscreet, or rather interested zeal of these *remonstrance makers* the consequences would have been that the people would not have even thought of complaining. This is, my dear friend, the first spark of a conflagration which has kindled, and is gradually increasing, a conflagration, smouldering in the embers, from which I may hope to realize part of my expectations. Alas! why is our king so virtuous, so humane, and so mild? Why does he always show himself a good father, while his ungrateful and rebellious children are constantly plotting his ruin? Why did he not take up the lash of Louis XIV? Why did he not rush into the tennis court at the head of his guards, and drive out its new guests? An act of determined boldness like this, supported by strenuous preparations, and a few executions, would have stopped the evil at its very source, but the virtuous Louis XVI wishes to be a father rather than a king, and yet, at this present moment, he ought to show that he is a king, if he wishes to be a father."

#### HE WRITES CRITICISING THE COURSE OF THE KING

"5 September

"He who first advised the king to assemble the States-General, would well deserve the name and fate of Prometheus. The latter encroached on celestial power, by animating a mortal, the former gave a stab to royalty, by animating the monster, whose off spring were to devour him

All the elements of the revolution were then in existence, it is said, and the convocation of the States-General was indispensable. The former assertion is true, the latter utterly false. The events, it is true, existed; but the regal authority strenuously displayed in every sense of the word, the effervescence restrained in its very beginning would have prevented them from bursting forth, and for the time have destroyed the greatest part. A wise reform after that, a better plan of finance, sacrifices made on the part of privileged classes who should be compelled to make them, the interests of all orders nicely balanced, these different subjects discussed in a select committee, and rapidly put into execution, would have calmed the minds, insensibly restored order, disconcerted all the hopes of the ambitious, and afforded time to strengthen the weak sides of the monarchy, or reconstruct it on a foundation more appropriate to the manners, the intelligence, and the necessities of the people.

"To bring about all this, I have no hesitation in saying, but that violent measures must have been used; there must have been some victims, some exemplary punishments; perhaps even, one might have passed for a month or two, as a harsh, unhuman, and unfeeling ruler. What is all that, compared with the abyss which has just opened under the throne and the nation? The good effects brought about by the reform, the restoration of peace, the popularity aimed at us by the sovereign, would certainly have caused all the past to be forgotten. So true it is, that a king, who would choose it, might murder half his subjects, and make himself idolized by the other; the only difficulty is to know how to go about it. This assertion, Dangeais, may appear bold to you; but weigh it in the balance of reflection, and you will be convinced that there never was a more

fundamental truism, besides we are so constructed that it cannot be otherwise. A happy people, who see their riches and their happiness daily increase, are incapable of condemning the means employed for both, by the author of their prosperity. They are in possession of them, enjoy them, and they require nothing more. This is a picture of man and society of every climate and of every age.

"What I predicted respecting the States General was realized much sooner than I had imagined. That impolitic and dangerous measure of convoking a large assembly of men in times of public effervescence, puts every passion on the alert. One who never thought of taking a part in the legislation of the state, makes use of a thousand stratagems to get his name enrolled among the actors of the political drama about to be represented. Another, who, through despair, was preparing the deadly poison to put an end to his existence, his infamy, and his debts, lays it aside, realizes some property, and comes and establishes himself in the capital, determined to take advantage of the first event that can extricate him from embarrassment.

"This first assembly was, however, composed of men of the first merit, and whose political education was by no means ignoble, these *enlightened* subjects will probably be the ruin of France, and undermine the throne. This assertion may, at first sight, appear hazardous, and yet in my opinion, time will discover that it is well founded. This self-constituted assembly will not be the first to erect scaffolds, nor to insult the sovereign power, but it will pave the way for these atrocities, those luminous discussions on political problems, the solution of which ought to be confined to a few, will stir up thousands of factious demagogues of every species. From these will spring other assemblies whose talents and principles will be in inverse ratio with



the principles and the talents of their predecessors, and into which ambitious delegates will insinuate themselves, ready to stab, weaken, or pervert their colleagues. The lower class will then assume the principles of their superiors, and every thing will be destroyed. This self-constituted assembly will not indeed demolish the edifice of the monarchy, but will first point out the way to its destruction."

HE WRITES DESCRIBING THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

"8 September.

"I resume my pen, Dangeais, and cannot help expressing my regret at your not being on the spot. Each day would produce some new event for your consideration. That country which you have left, and the countrymen you have abandoned, are no longer morally in existence; there are absolutely new laws, new people, new manners. Armies have sprung from the earth, as if by enchantment. What a rich mine this France will present for the skilful man, who will know how to investigate it, after thousands of investigators both good and bad will have perished, by discovering to him the different veins. You would smile, my friend, at the fanaticism of the present French population; a man who has not even bread to eat, spends his time in assisting at the fine speeches of a political forum. A word has been thrown in amongst the people, of which they do not even comprehend the meaning, that has been however picked up by them, in order to hang up at the first lamp-post, or cut into pieces any person they may suppose hostile to their measures; this is a word, *aristocrat*; a term implying sentence of immediate death, which is put into execution, without inquiring whether the unfortunate accused is deserving of it. The counsellor of state, Foulon and Berthier,

the inspector of Paris were assassinated the 22nd of last July, in virtue of this term, to which you may give the epithet of *incivic* or *diabolic*, just as you think most proper

"This patriotic mob does not confine itself, however, to such trifling exploits as these. The romance of the dungeons of the Bastile, was no sooner related to them, than they marched in a body to this state prison. The governor, M. Delaunay, who would either have opened the gates to them peaceably, or fired upon them at once, has been beheaded by the citizen Denot, cook of his department, and Flesselles, a sheriff, ended his days by command of Sieur Moraire, a silver smith of Charleville. In short, my friend I could send you about thirty little dramatic pieces all in *this style*, represented in a patriotic manner, in every lane and alley of the extensive metropolis, which are imitated in every other province

"This statement, although lightly drawn, of the situation in which the French nation is placed, will no doubt create sorrow in you, who are the heir of an extremely rich uncle, nothing can be more natural. he who loves to live peaceably, and whom fortune loads with her gifts, will never look with a placid countenance on political convulsions. If every one of those who now take a share in the revolution had like you, Dangeais, acquired a rich inheritance, depend upon it, that the revolution would never have taken place, that the monarch would be revered, and his subjects happy and quiet

"Many reasons have been assigned for revolutions in a state, but, in my opinion, the principal and primitive cause, is the physical or moral perplexity of one class in particular, or of several combined. Wherever a revolution breaks out, it is certain that there exists a suffering people, for, an individual who grieves not, who is not ambitious (for

ambition is grievous), who sees his affairs and his family prosper, is a decided enemy to all revolutions, and wisely so; but that is no reason why every one else should be of his opinion, or that I should.

"You have already seen that I pitied the monarch, and did justice to his virtues; you have heard me wish that he possessed energy, firmness, and even insensibility, a quality he certainly needs at present, in order to repress the unwarrantable audacity of some of his subjects. Well, if I thus expressed myself, feeling for his interest, it was, that I identified myself to his title, to that authority which he ought necessarily to possess in all its fulness, and which he allows himself to be deprived of through his good-nature. In short, I placed myself on his throne, and with regret saw that he acted not in the manner in which I should have acted in a similar situation. But, laying aside this sentiment, I see with inexpressible pleasure both the too great indulgence of the monarch, and the too insolent audacity of the subject. Such is likewise the opinion of the labours of those directors convoked by the king; still the same want of energy, productive of the most outrageous violence on the part of the people; and yet I should despond, if all these atrocities did not exist, for it is only an explosion that seems most likely to raise me from the imperceptible eminence, on which I grovel—an explosion that will bring me into notoriety, and afford me the means of realizing those expectations I have cherished from my earliest infancy.

"However dark the political clouds may appear, as they are settling over the French horizon, you would scarcely credit, when informed, my friend, that it is only the foreboding of the most dreadful storm. Yes, Dangeais, the vessel of the state is threatened with hurricanes and multiplied destruction: I do not think it in the power of mortals

to stem the raging winds that roar around it a daunt alone can safely guide it into harbour

"This penetration into the convulsions our country must necessarily undergo, makes me six feet higher than I was I fancy to myself that fortune wishes to realize the truth of the note, placed by my name, on the list of candidates in the Military College Yes, I aspire at an eminence, and circumstances will favor me, we can no longer doubt it You will then, Dangeais, recollect the conversations of our youth, my first desires, my expectations, and the sentiments I confide to you in this dispatch You will say to yourself, *he cherished every future hope by present anticipation and my friend was not indulging in idle fancies* May my first sheets be a convincing proof to you that I am insensibly approaching the goal "

TELLS OF HIS APPOINTMENT TO COMMAND AND CONTINUES  
ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLUTION

Toulon, 17 December, 1793

From Napoleon Buonaparte, General of Artillery, to  
M Dangeais

"This is, I think, Sir, an attestation of some rank, some superiority and hopes of preferment So much received *on account* from Fortune for the delightful promises with which she has buoyed me up

"Well, Dangeais, now say, '*Buonaparte, you do not reflect, your brain is certainly cracked, your means will never be proportioned to your desires*' What a pitiful case is yours, my friend, to be acquainted with a mad man, who is rather an original one by the bye you must at least confess that this proportion of means is not badly *sketched out*, yes, *sketched out*, that is the very word And yet if this

were the completion of my destiny, I would place myself on the first mortar-piece pointed at the enemy. Are not moreover my pretensions allowable, since now-a-days, the meanest individual sets himself up for a legislator and governor? Ah! my friend, what an abyss does our revolution present! How many victims will fall into it! How many have already fallen! Thanks to heaven, I have the hope of being preserved; but in speaking to you of this abyss, I am silent about those persons and events that are daily rendering it deeper. These details are due to you; mark well where I left off in my last dispatch. Do not, however, expect a regular series of facts. I will give you a sketch of the principal subjects of this vast and gloomy picture, not so much to lay them in judgment before you, as to convince you of my character, and impress you with the idea that my aim is not too lofty, when I think myself worthy of aspiring at every thing.

"If, perchance, the happiness of your country should be your favorite illusion, if you are not fully persuaded that, in a revolution, the good are daily exposed to fall by the dagger of the ambitious, quit the perusal of these dispatches. In them you will find no common narration: the subject is new, terrible, and such as is seldom to be met with in the annals of civilized nations. If, however, you continue to peruse them, be not astonished if I mark with an *indelible seal*, certain persons and actions. In deeds so unnatural, so outrageous, it will be out of my power to use a natural and a placid style; my language will necessarily deserve a part of the reproaches belonging to the actions it will describe. Forewarned, therefore, be not surprised at my extravagance.

"From Besancon, I arrived at Paris on the 10th of September, 1792. This was a new modelled city, a nursery

for mean shufflers, seckers after preferment, cut throats, and weak petty-citizens driven headlong from crime to crime, and who after having proceeded so far, find it difficult to retreat such a gang, collected in this gulph of perdition, was perfectly conformable to my aim. On the 22nd of the same month, royalty was abolished, and the republic ordained *it was then that I chuckled with expectation*, and not without a motive brutes alone have no foresight

'In the month of December, I was still at Paris to solicit promotion during all the time not given up to my solicitations, I was employed in *sifting* into men and motives, nor could I occupy myself more profitably. I frequented assiduously the sittings of the convention, there I learned that the philosopher and the observer are one and the same person, and that, at times, each may acquire more knowledge in fathoming a volcano than in investigating a bed of plants. Half a century devoted to study, and all the books that have been printed, could not have instilled the hundredth part of those valuable notions which I acquired in the bosom of this representative chaos. All the elements of moral evil were, I believe, there in fermentation. If fear still kept within it a few honest individuals (a circumstance probable enough) I am certain they must have been upon thorns

"The 9th of December, the pleader Target informed me, that the virtuous Louis XVI would be brought to the Bar of the Convention on the 11th. At this information one half of my frame sprang with hope, and the other half shuddered with horror. Frenchmen! from Pharamond until this day, what have we witnessed? Nothing, in comparison to the great events reserved by fortune for this period

"A just and benevolent king, who has nothing where

with to reproach himself, but his unbounded clemency, brought on a sudden before his subjects, who have constituted themselves his judges, to be hereafter his executioners; such a man, I say, compelled to lay aside his name, his title, and his rank, is one of those terrible spectacles, that rend the heart of the good man and faithful subject; that are awful and painful to the philosopher; that are rapturous and sublime to the ambitious. How blunted soever may be the feelings of a man, he would purchase, even at the price of his blood, the right of assisting at such a meeting.

"I arrived at the Convention: seated myself; the monarch enters. Oh, nature! Who ordered thee to imprint on the foreheads of legitimate sovereigns so much grandeur and dignity? Why am I not gifted with the same majestic appearance? How well would it suit my projects! But, no: indiscreetly liberal to this thy favorite class, thou art a rigid step-mother to others. Such were the jealous reflections that assailed me, Dangeais, I must confess it, at the sight of the King of France; reflections, which, on an attentive consideration, were succeeded by milder sentiments. Nature, said I, is in the right, in having distinguished these privileged classes. Who will captivate by favour and benevolence if it be not the man who governs his equals? This title alone, whether acquired justly or not, is sufficient to conciliate to us the protection of supernatural and divine beings.

"My looks were again turned towards the accused monarch. The serenity of his soul could be traced on his calm and dignified countenance; his innocence was manifest in his least motions; and the bench of criminals, on which he had been placed by crime and ambition, appeared to me a splendid throne of glory and majesty. Excuse me, my

friend, if to display these noble scenes to you, I make use of an heroic style; but you know, that everything that strikes my mind, assumes the height of a cedar. My thoughts are lofty, therefore my expressions are so; and that which would be ridiculous in another, in me is only the effect of nature.

"The king spoke; he was at once concise and sublime. I expected, at one time, that his judges would fall down at his feet; but I was deceived: they possessed the audacity and energy of wickedness. Silent, they looked upon the king and shuddered not. Neither the rank of the accused; his innocence, which no person present doubted; the serenity of his countenance, nor the august appearance of his whole person, had any effect on the *iron* hearts of these men, determined to brave both celestial anger and human revenge. Such audacity on their part raised them in my estimation. At least, said I, they act their part admirably; and their criminal insensibility is some recommendation: 'For if virtue has its heroes, so has guilt.'

"Shall I, Dangeais, entrust you with a secret? Well, then, these guilty wretches made so deep an impression on me, that had it depended on myself to have been either a mere witness of the solemn condemnation they were about to pronounce, or one of those who condemned him, I should not have hesitated in my choice: as a subject of the prince, I would have taken my place among his judges. But there my ambition would have known where to stop; I would have boldly spoken in favour of the monarch, and probably have saved him. If I am mistaken, it is an idea that has often possessed me. Learn, Dangeais, how I would have steered my course in this impetuous ocean; I would, in the first place, have secured a method for escaping; for he is only half a hero who falls victim to his laurels. This



important precaution being first taken, I would have rushed forward into the assembly, not to refuse the accusation brought against the King of France, whose death was already secretly planned; and who was merely led forth for form sake, but to cut short all deceitful decorum and proclaim the secret intentions of the guilty directors. Thus would I have addressed them:—

“Representatives, what has the King of France to do here? Why act a prelude of his death by judiciary forms? Why impose on yourselves the unpleasant task of supporting the majesty of his looks, the serenity of his countenance, the sublime self-consciousness of his innocence? Why torment yourselves to find out charges against him? Why require him to justify himself, when the irrevocable decree of his condemnation is written on your hearts? What, *you*, who have trampled under foot all decorum; you who have broken through every tie, and destroyed every privilege, do *you* lower your tone now in order to feign, to ape justice? Gentlemen, you are out in your parts. On the footing you are now, your sovereign can no longer exist; you know it yourselves, but dare not proclaim it, as if afraid of withstanding the indignation of other nations. In the name of your formidable renown, be not mollified; be great and sincere in this illustrious murder; let one of you, like a sublime regicide thus address Louis XVI.: ‘Successor of Henry IV., henceforth France will no longer obey one king alone; we impose on it seven hundred sovereigns, consequently you can no longer live; prepare for death.’

“Do not you think, my friend, that such a speech would have changed the appearance of things? Would the assembly have listened to it with indifference? Would it not, in short, have roused the energy of those, who, in the convention, were secretly inclined towards the prince? I am

convinced, that the numerous sensations produced, would have brought on a better order of things. As to myself, wisely making escape after the meeting, I would have taken refuge with the French princes, and trusted to them for my safety and advancement.

"These were, my friend, the aerial castles my imagination formed in the midst of this popular vortex. The monarch is at last directed to provide himself with a counsel, and his guards reconduct him to the temple.

"Next day I was informed, that the pleader Target had refused his assistance to his sovereign. This was, in the full force of the term, blotting his own name from the annals of immorality. But this coward, out of prudence, replied to this *By risking my own life, I should not save his*. In that respect he was right, and had I been in his place, I should perhaps have acted in the same manner, for to tell you the truth, I love my own life. Maleshebes, Tronchet, and Deseze, devoted subjects whom I could not imitate, but whom I would place on my right hand if I were a king, united themselves to defend the grandson of Saint Louis. Should they survive this courageous act, I will never pass by them without a respectful bow."

HE WRITES REGARDING HIS SCHEME FOR SAVING THE KING

"20 December

"Having gone to Versailles on some private business, I did not return to Paris before the 16th of January. I lost, consequently three or four scenes of this ambitious tragedy, but I was present on the 18th at the Convention. Ah! Dangeais, in spite of all that may have been advanced by the furies of the revolution, a king is not a mere man. His head falls, it is true, like that of a peasant, but he who

commits the murder, inwardly shudders at the deed; and if superior motives which direct him, did not benumb his senses, he would not dare to utter the fatal condemnation.

"I eagerly contemplated the determined wretches who were about to pronounce sentence, on their virtuous sovereign; I watched every motion of their countenance, I probed into their very hearts. The magnitude and importance of the crime alone supported them: the name and rank of their victim secretly alarmed them, and had they hesitated, the prince would have been saved. Unfortunately, they had said to each other: 'If this head do not fall today, ours must hereafter drop under the axe of the executioner.' This thought more than any thing else, influenced their votes. What pen would be sufficiently skilful to depict of the situation of the assembly? Pensive, mute, hardly daring to breathe, their eyes were fixed alternately on the accused, the judge and the counsel. Unparalleled circumstance! D'Orleans exclaims: *I vote for death . . . !* Electricity itself could not produce a more instantaneous effect. Directors and judges rose dismayed, and the court re-echoed with a murmur of horror. One man alone, immoveable as a rock, remained seated. I was that man! The reason I gave myself for this insensibility, was found in my ambition; and as an ambitious man, the Duke of Orleans' action appeared to me perfectly natural. He aimed at a throne which belonged not to him, and certainly such an acquisition could not be made by a professor of virtue and general esteem.

"Now, my friend, I must be brief; dismal subjects are not to my taste. The king was condemned to death; and on the 21st of the same month, if the French name was stained with an odious epithet, the martyrology was augmented with an illustrious name.

"What a city, Dangeais, Paris presented on this conspicuous day! The populace was no longer furious, but horror struck, some looked pensive, others, as if struck dumb. The streets were deserted, and the whole population remained inactive. Houses and palaces were changed into sepulchres: the very air *smelt rank with slaughter*. At last, the grandson of Saint Louis was led to the scaffold, between two files of mournful automata, lately his subjects.

"If any person should be present, were it even your father, when you are reading this dispatch, conceal carefully from him what follows, my dear friend, it is a stain on my character. Napoleon Buonaparte, deeply affected at the destruction of a mere man, and compelled to take to his bed, in consequence of this impression, is an incredible fact, although a true one, so extraordinary an event, that I cannot own it without a blush and a despicable opinion of myself. Yes, Dangeais, I had that weakness, glorious to any other, but disgraceful to me, who already wished to have nothing in common with the tenderness of the human hearts.

"The night before the 21st of January, it was impossible for me to close my eyes, nor could I account for it. I rose early and visited all the quarters where the soldiers were drawn out, wondering at, or rather I despised the silly complaisance of forty thousand national guards, of whom nine tenths were mechanically acting the parts of executioners. I met Santerre at the Gate St Denis: a numerous retinue attended him. I would willingly have cut both his ears off, but as that was out of my power, I contented myself with casting a disdainful look on him. Such a wretch appeared to me unworthy of his mission. The Duke d'Orleans would have suited me in this station: he at least would have dishonoured himself, his aim was a

crown, and we are all aware that such a motive causes many things to be overlooked.

"I crossed the *boulevards* and arrived at the *Place de la Revolution*. I had not till then seen the fatal invention of Dr. Guillotin: a cold perspiration seized me the moment I fixed my eyes on it. A stranger, who was next to me, attributing my paleness to the interest I took in the fate of the king of France, said to me 'Don't be alarmed, he will not fall; the Convention only wish to prove the power they possess: his pardon awaits him at the foot of the scaffold.'—'If that be the case,' replied I, 'the conventionalists are little aware that the gibbet awaits *them*; for never did rogues deserve it more. He who attacks a lion and does not wish to be torn into pieces, ought not to wound him, but kill him on the spot.' A mournful and sepulchral sound was heard: it was the august victim. I pressed forward; I pushed and was pushed; at last I approached as near as it was possible; but in vain, the scaffold was concealed by the armed force. A beating of drums suddenly disturbed the mournful silence of an immense crowd. 'It is the signal of his pardon,' said the stranger to me.—'So then,' rejoined I, 'his condemnation was only intended as an insult by the Convention. If so, committing a crime by halves is a triple offense.' A momentary silence ensued: suddenly something fell heavy on the scaffold. This noise struck to my heart: I asked a *gendarme* what it was. "'Tis the fall of the knife,' answered he.—'Then the king is not saved?—He is dead! . . . He is dead!' A dozen times I pronounced these words, *he is dead!* For a few moments I was bereft of my senses, and not knowing who had extricated me from the crowd, I found myself on the *Quai des Theatins*. There I recovered in some degree my senses; but could articulate nothing but: *He is dead!* . . . I returned home

in a melancholy state, and an hour elapsed before I completely recovered. So much weakness and pusillanimity appeared ominous to my future projects. I gave myself such a lecture as I would not have easily borne from any other person.

In order to dissipate my melancholy thoughts, I went to pay a visit to the Deputy Barbaroux, on whom I frequently called. But, alas! what an unexpected spectacle, his family were in tears, and I found that unhappy man, completely distracted, in consequence of the remorse he felt, at having given his fatal vote against his sovereign. In the same manner as a Roman Emperor once cried out for the restoration of his legions, so did the deputy cry out for the restoration of Louis XVI. Such imbecility on his part provoked me against him, I had forgotten that I who had not the same cause to reproach myself had been nearly in the same situation as he. What, said I to myself, is it such feeble minded beings as these, who rush into the gulph of heinous atrocities? Why did not the unhappy wretch remain peaceably in the bosom of his family concerns? I was on the point of returning home, when Fouché and Carnot entered. These were at least, men, determined regicides! No impulse foreign to their ambitious project had induced *them* to vote for death. *they* had reasoned well on their crime. In their actions as well as in their words, could be constantly traced the tenacity of their opinions. If these men, thought I, have sinned, it was certainly upon mature reflection and for some purpose.

"Both of them shrugged up their shoulders at the sight of their delirious colleague. It was the first time I had seen Fouché, but by his appearance and discourse I could easily see he would go great lengths. I left Barbaroux's house, determined in my own mind never again to see a

man, ambitious enough to commit a heinous crime, and cowardly enough to repent of it. Whoever, in a similar case, cannot free himself from an accusing recollection, ought to kill himself, and not lament like a woman. Barbaroux, however, did not think proper to take this resolution, for he soon reappeared on the political theatre, from which the executioner, with the stroke of an axe drove him some time after.

“Excuse, my friend, the rapid view I have taken of this terrible catastrophe. It is not my intention to give you a detailed history of our revolution; I merely wish to particularize the principal facts, to enable you to judge of the events, and, what flatters me the most, to express to you with sincerity what I *myself* am, and my opinions of these political convulsions. You may easily collect the scattered outlines in these dispatches, and compose a total which will give you the measure and proportion of my ideas. If some of my propositions appear bold paradoxes, I forewarn you that you may expect many similar cases; I will, however, add that these apparent paradoxes cease to be such, as soon as we see things as they really are. Examine thoroughly what follows, you will be convinced it is so.

“If the ambition of power and the love of riches, in certain individuals, have brought the king to the scaffold, both these passions have stirred up avengers in his cause, in his very executioners. Thousands of factions sprang from the grand national faction, and successfully butchered each other. I mean not to fix your attention on this *slaughter*; my object is, to fix it on something nobler and greater, and that is on *myself*. How great, indeed, I appeared in my own eyes! France streaming in blood, and groaning under her wounds, while I was secretly intoxicated with joy; a delight so much the less deserving censure, as it was

involuntary Yes, Dangeais, your old friend felt happy in spite of himself He did not reason on the cause of his joy, but welcomed it Each faction, as it fell under the axe of another factious body, appeared to him to remove another obstacle to the high expectations raised in his breast by ambition I hurl contempt at him who would condemn sentiments, which could not be replaced by others

"Had I not been ambitious my want of fortune and the disorders of my country would have impelled me to take advantage of circumstances and yet when the royal cause was completely ruined I was undecided as to the choice of the faction to which I should devote myself Here, Dangeais, I must place one of the most painful circumstances of my life, a circumstance which I should certainly have related before the death of the king but which I have only kept back through the shame of owning it

'What could, in fact, afflict me more sensibly, at that epoch, than the indifference, or the contempt of any man? What! for me to condescend to write and not to receive a reply! You know me Dangeais, you are aware what an exalted opinion I have of myself Need I after that tell you how I resented the treatment of M. Montmorin? But this circumstance must be more amply detailed history will necessarily gain by the knowledge

"Having ever appreciated men whatever they might be, in proportion to the rank they occupy in society, and in the power they exercise over their equals, it is certain that in the beginning of the revolution, I would have preferred the cause of the sovereign to that of his subjects But how many obstacles acted against this natural inclination Without interest, without birth or fortune to recommend me, a stranger to the court, totally unknown to the monarch, and too ambitious to serve him as a subaltern,



what means could I employ to be introduced to him? Misfortune itself and necessity do not render the great, quicker of apprehension; and how many of them are there, who fall as victims by the side of a mere individual, whose arm or counsels might support them, or cause them to conquer! Consequently, the more I reflected on the means to be employed, in order to serve the court in an exalted station, the less did these means appear attainable. This obstacle once known as insurmountable, I placed all my expectations in the pretended cause of the people, or rather in the excesses to which they would, I was well aware, be driven. I would not, however, deliver myself up entirely to this party without endeavoring to make myself known to the ministers, and induce them to profit by the *enthusiasm* of my youth and ambition, in order to bring about a new order of things.

"It was then the beginning of 1792; I was captain and had reached my twenty-fourth year. The French monarch saw daily his power diminishing, and the assembly increasing theirs. Much less afflicted at the misfortunes of the king, than jealous of the colossal power of his oppressors, who, from the height of their ephemeral grandeur, scarcely deigned to look on a simple officer; jealous, I say, of the distance that these audacious upstarts set between themselves and my equals, I formed the project of hurling them headlong from their curule chairs. Was this the project of a wise man, or an impetuous madman? Was the plan good or bad? Would it have failed or succeeded? These are queries, the solution of which embarrass me but little at present. Suffice it to say, that this design was conceived.

"My first idea was to write to the king himself; but considering that he tenderly loved his people, that his indulgence and piety had always rendered him averse to rigour,

I was convinced that the severity of the measures I should propose, would not only make him reject them, but would most probably create in him a bad opinion of my principles. I determined, therefore, to present my memorial to one of his ministers, the only difficulty was to know to which of these gentlemen I should address it.

"Claviere, a systematic financier, and yet not a statesman would have treated me as a madman. Roland, a republican of his lady's fabrication, might have made me suffer for my interference. M. de Narbonne, half republican and half royalist, had two strings at that time to his bow, besides, this minister was too inveterate against M. Bertrand de Molleville, whom he railed at and opposed in every thing and in all places. Bertrand de Molleville a harsh and severe man, and above all inclined to great measures, was certainly the very minister to suit me, but by some information gained concerning him I was assured that he was strongly self-opinionated, and neither valued nor sanctioned anything but what emanated from himself. There only remained M. Montmorin and several reasons determined me in his favor. He was sincerely devoted to the king, possessed his confidence, and was convinced more than any other of the perils that threatened the royal family, and yet who would believe, that notwithstanding these favorable circumstances, he would not enter into my designs? Who would imagine that he, who possessed too much humanity, but not enough firmness to constitute a statesman, would not even take into consideration a plan the execution of which, I am convinced would have brought on a better order of things, and have saved the monarch and his friends? This, however, happened, for the minister did not even answer my memorial perhaps even he despised the author of it. I may at least presume it to be

the case, after his silence towards me ; but the conventioners, by condemning to death the most virtuous of kings, have sufficiently avenged me for the indifference shown me by his minister.

“You will appeal to yourself, my friend, whether self-love blinded me, and whether M. Montmorin did not commit a grievous fault, by not taking into consideration the plan I proposed to him. It is useless to tell me that the king would not have acquiesced in it. To this I reply, without fear of being contradicted, that the dangers of the monarch had increased to such a degree, that there were no longer any precautionary measures to be taken ; that he, who would wish to serve the king efficaciously, should assume authority himself, and even disobey the monarch for his preservation. Such conduct, I know, might ruin its author. Well ! in that, precisely, consisted the glory and merit M. Montmorin might acquire. He who will deny these truths, cannot be acquainted with the period I am alluding to. Was not, moreover, M. Montmorin prepared for great sacrifices, since he said to the Duke of Lessart, when accepting the ministry, ‘Sir, I make a renunciation of my life, since I am convinced, that to serve the king effectually, it is necessary at present to expose oneself to death.’ Why, then, with such a conviction, did he not try the experiment of my energy and projects ? My opinion is, that there could not have happened greater misfortunes than those we have witnessed.

“Now, Dangeais, of all the political projects you have as yet had of me, the following one is the most important ; be pleased to preserve it carefully. If M. Montmorin has not destroyed the original, and that it should still exist in some portfolio, the copy you will possess will serve to compare with the original, if it should happen to be pub-

lished I have great reasons, that, in such a case it should not be mutilated reserve then for yourself the only means of being able to contradict any person who would allow the least expression to be changed It is not, precisely speaking a memorial that enters into details, a volume would have been scarcely sufficient, and I always preferred actions to words I have no hesitation in thinking that the system and its principles will displease you such would be the effects on most of its readers, if it were destined to become public And yet I am confident, that such would not be the case, if one could have a just idea of the dreadful circumstances during which it was written, and above all, that no half measures must be taken when all is nearly lost But perhaps I have a false idea of the judgment which the public would pass on my memorial May not the reader, in dwelling on the king's death, and the other atrocities which accompanied it, exclaim 'He was certainly right in wishing to proceed beyond the ordinary limits' He was well aware that there are certain occasions, when prudence, circumspection, and irresolution are errors, especially in politics! However, whether the public would approve or condemn the project I had conceived, and the means I wished to employ to insure the fulfilling of them, I am convinced that every real friend of the unfortunate Louis XVI will regret that my advice was despised

"My ultimate plan being unknown, my excuse this reproach to be made me that I have not sufficiently developed my ideas, nor specified all the chances of my project To this I answer, that I reserved for myself the pleasure of explaining them to the minister, and entering with him into the minutest details As to the style, it is entirely my own, and its colouring in this memorial is not without a

purpose. Every painter has his peculiar colouring and method; the unskilful alone copies the style of another.

#### EXPLAINS AND DEFENDS HIS PLAN FOR SAVING THE KING

"I suppose, Dangeais, you have read my memorial, and think I have a right to affirm, that those persons must be bold indeed who will condemn it without reserve. You will, no doubt, say, in some points it transgresses, that it would have occasioned some bloodshed, and have compromised, for the time, the royal family and their most faithful servants. What do these assertions prove, but that the execution of my projects would not have rendered things worse? What greater atrocities could have been committed? What events could have caused more bloodshed? The 10th of August has witnessed the overthrow of the king's body guards, the Swiss, the ancient friends of the monarch, his faithful servants, brave men whom I would have conducted to victory, and led on to trample upon a populace, dangerous only when listened to, or when they can shelter themselves within a building from which they are attacked or defend themselves. I will moreover say, that I should not have found it necessary even to use energy against them. I should have left Paris in the night time, during the darkness of which they would have ventured to assail me. If they had, a brisk discharge of muskets . . . and soon they would have seen their error. Twenty thousand men well disciplined, skilful in manœuvres, certain of being slaughtered unless they conquer, stimulated by the presence of a king, a queen, and the presumptive heir, an illustrious and fortunate family, who place their lives under the aegis of their bravery; twenty thousand men, I say, in such a position, at liberty to extend themselves, and

commanded by a man of skill, who does not value a few lives lost, will easily fight their way through an undisciplined populace, badly armed, and led on in disorder. For the truth of my assertion, I appeal to masters of the military art. To this I add, that the king under the escort of these twenty thousand men, would have directed his course towards the victorious army of the Count d'Artois, with which he would soon have fallen in. If I needed any more to convince me how very wrong it was not to try the plan which I had conceived and traced, I will add, that the axe of the regicides, delivered into the hands of the executioner, has brought the king, the queen, and her beloved sister to an untimely end. Their son, their young son, the presumptive heir, languishes in a prison, and is put to torture each successive day, by a wretch who ought to die on the scaffold. Madame, like an angel of sweetness, sufferance and compassion, groans under pangs and painful recollections on a pallet in a dungeon. The unfortunate and elegant Princess de Lamballe, the valuable and virtuous friend of a queen, yet more unfortunate, has been torn piece meal, and her limbs, dripping with blood, were borne on the heads of her assassins who paraded them through the capital. At Versailles, Brissac, Lessart, and thousands of others, have fallen slashed and bleeding into the tomb. I shall proceed no further, the noise of the revolutionary hatchets, falling on the surface of this fair country, loudly condemns the rejection of my memorial, and compels me to repeat, what worse could have happened?

'Convinced as I was, Dangeais, of the misfortunes ready to fall upon the monarch and his family, conceive if possible what must have been my indignation, when I saw the only means that could shield the royal family from so many calamities, and procure me so much glory, treated with con-

tempt, for I say once again, my ambition entered for much into my projects, than the interest I felt for the victims I wished to preserve.

"How much, my friend, did I take this affront to heart! What reflections did it not excite! If hereafter you should be asked what motives principally induced me to follow the revolutionary party, you may point out two causes: the rejection of my memorial, and the disgrace inflicted upon me by the haughty Paoli, a man whom I have ever honoured and respected, and had always placed above the heroes of antiquity. I wished, however, Dangeais, to conceal from you this latter painful circumstance; but it would be too great a chasm in the *chain* of my existence. I should fear likewise lest posterity might one day or other attribute my silence, either to my culpability or my weakness, I will therefore give you a detail . . . but no . . . I cannot; I will no more plunge a dagger into the wound scarcely healed. Have I not suffered enough? Have I not sufficiently drank a cup of humiliation? And yet . . . I find I have gone already too far, Dangeais, to break off here. I consent then to relate this fact to you, as briefly as possible.

#### RECOUNTS HIS EXPERIENCES IN VISITING CORSICA

"A few months ago I took a journey to Corsica, to take advantage of any circumstances that might offer. I found peoples' minds there, as well disposed as I could wish: the effervescence was general: meetings were forming, the members of which were composed of ambitious villains, and petty citizens. On all sides, were bandied about the words liberty and equality. The opportunity was favourable; I entered into the *sport* as others did, although I cordially despised my companions. My fellow citizens were

ensnared by my fair pretences, and named me commander of the national guard

"Paoli, in the mean time, was forming very different plans His fortune and reputation being made, he wished for a peaceful and steady revolution Two parties were formed, we became enemies I kept in equal balance with him for some time, but his name, his exploits his intrigues gained an ascendancy, and my family with myself were banished from Corsica Never did I so much regret knowing the value of existence, I could have blown my brains out, but convinced that, of all acts of cowardice, suicide was the greatest, I determined to live Madam Buonaparte, said to me one day, 'Why do you give yourself up to such transports of rage? It is so noble, so great to show oneself superior to a reverse of fortune! and what is it after all? a contrariety, a mere petty vexation What would you think, if I were to tell you that it is perhaps a fortunate circumstance, that the decree which proscribes you, may become the diploma of the most brilliant dignities, and the *brevet* of a high renown Napoleon, Corsica is but an uncultivated rock, an imperceptible and miserable speck of land, France, the contrary, is extensive, rich, populous, and in flames This, my son, is a noble conflagration, worth risking being scorched at'

"Never did a mother receive so cordial an embrace from a son, as Madam Buonaparte received, in return for the observations she had just made How did words vibrate in my ears! Corsica is but an uncultivated rock, a speck of land, France on the contrary is extensive, rich, populous, etc This was enough to bring me back to milder sentiments, and render my exile much less painful to support This, Dangeais, is what happened to me in Corsica, this is what



I wished to conceal, and which I now briefly relate to you, without comments and reflections.

“This first slight, received in Corsica, and my memorial at the court unanswered, irrevocably threw me into the revolutionary party. To what cause could I then devote myself, since the minister actually removed me from that of the sovereign? I was without fortune, without birth, and without recommendation: I could not therefore join the princes, who besides, were beginning to become the victims of the ingratitude and policy of foreign powers. How opposite to this was my determination, when the assassins of 1793 had doomed to death the principal members of the royal family; when these same assassins, divided into different factions, were mutually dragging each other to the scaffold! Could I then inwardly consent to remain a subaltern under the hideous sceptre of this *butchering set*? Would I have accepted of an employment under a Carriere, a Marat, or a Robespierre, had I not been convinced that the globe would not long bear such infamous wretches? . . . A Robespierre, to summon *me* with his laws; a Robespierre obtain *my* respect, *my* esteem . . . perhaps in the condition in which France is at present, he may have that influence; but over *me* . . . never, no never: I am too well aware of the portion of the filth he is composed of. *His* ambition partakes too much of the vile and contemptible, even in spite of the blood he sheds, unrestrained by his stupid and timid colleagues.

“A Robespierre . . . if there be a cruel reproach to be made in French, it will be to call to their recollection that such a being ever glutted himself in the purest of blood, and ever imposed laws on them. Such men as Tiberius, Sylla, or Cromwell, might have pretended to place a nation in such a degree of base subjection. Under such men as

these, at least it may be excusable if the nation tamely submitted to the yoke

"Would you credit it, I have so far debased myself as to have written twice to this same Robespierre. He is a cowardly reptile whose turpitude and immorality I have need to appreciate, in order to know what extent such a one can proceed, without genius and with audacity only, in tormenting a nation and disposing of its treasures. Political villains furnish the best subjects of study for the statesman, and the ambitious, they supply active precepts, good or bad

'You perceive, dear Dangeais, that each day shortens the distance you have ever supposed necessary to exist between me and a lofty destiny. Each event for these last two years, has insensibly embellished the character I have assumed in the political drama. I see not as yet, it is true, the point where I am to stop, but I feel I am gently approaching it"

#### HE IS ORDERED TO PROCEED TO TOULON

"Having entered the army merely as captain, and being named commander at Ohoulles, after the resignation of Mr. Duthel, who was dangerously wounded, I received orders to proceed to Toulon. There, I was compelled, as well as several others, to undergo many vexations, by manœuvring as directed by men entirely ignorant of the military art, I allude to those representatives sent by the Convention to head the armies, by which they were universally despised

"I was directed to cannonade the forts of La Malgue and Malboquet, to drive the enemy from their position. Barras and Freron, commissioned to direct the siege, assumed the

men of experience, and regulated my batteries; I left them to do as they chose, being well aware they were acting wrong. Ten days in short passed, and I had merely wasted powder and shot. It was then time I thought for me to prove to the representatives, that if they knew how to make fine speeches, and gibbet their antagonists, they knew nothing about destroying a fortress. I said not a word to them of my plan, for fear of engaging in a dispute with them; in the night I fixed, to the eastward of my other redoubts, a plain battery of eight pieces of twelve pounders and two howitzers; the work was carrying on, when they appeared. 'What is this battery for?' said they to the captain employed? — 'A new one ordered by the commander.' I was within three yards of them, and heard every thing, but said not a word. Freron viewed with his telescope, and desired them to leave off, that the battery was useless, I immediately came up: 'This battery shall remain,' said I, 'I answer with my life it will succeed: follow your employment, and leave me to follow mine.' Astonished at such boldness, the commissaries were silent for a moment. Barras placed himself in the angle destined for the howitzers, examined for some time their supposed direction, and retired at a little distance, taking Freron by the arm. I know not what he said to him, but returning to me, *'Well, go on, we shall see whether you do not presume too much.'*

"No, I did not presume too much; I had discovered the weak side of the two forts; I took them at half-flank; by this means three-fourths of the defenders were exposed to my fire. The day after, I made my first assault: the success trebled my expectations. My balls completely swept away the ramparts, and the forts were a few days after taken. What will, no doubt, surprise you, my friend, is, that I had the idea of this battery before the represen-

tatives had ordered those which only served to lengthen the attack and waste ammunition I might certainly have made the observation to the commissaries, and pointed out its utility, but that would only have been rendering a service to the state, and what I most feared, to the deputies who probably would have arrogated to themselves all the honour. How much wiser did I act! None but a blockhead can deny me this consequence. The representatives, with whom I had acted bluntly, and whom perhaps I had inwardly humbled were prudent enough not to resent it. Pleased at having gained possession of so fine a harbour, they recompensed me for the part I had taken in the acquisition, by naming me brigadier general. I am waiting for the commission to sign in that quality. Not that I am prevented from so doing at present through modesty, but that I fear the Convention may not ratify the determination of the representatives, as their power is subject to so many variations. Be it as it may, I trust that this dispatch, which has been taken up at different times, will furnish you matter for reflection, not only on the great catastrophes, of which your country is the witness and the victim, but also on the expectations I form for myself. Your approbation, I am well aware, will not extend to all circumstances of my life, but I owe you no ill-will for that, you shall, nevertheless, be my confidant and friend, as much as one man can be so towards another. I am moreover persuaded, that I alone can appreciate and approve myself. This conviction is one of my greatest satisfactions. Why have I anything in common with other mortals? I would wish to be completely a *man* apart. I possess, however, the sole approbation that I aspire after—that is, my own.

‘I conclude for the present, my dear Dangeais, happy in the expectation that these sheets will convince you, that

I am making hasty strides towards the object of my wishes, which you may rest assured, should I ever reach, the friend of my youth and the confidant of my most secret thoughts shall not be forgotten. Then will be the time, my friend, when I shall be able to give you proofs of the unviolable attachment, with which I subscribe myself yours,

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE."

MEETING OF THE TWO COMRADES AFTER THEIR  
LONG SEPARATION

\* \* \* "*You, Dangeais, here, a captain . . . come along with me . . . What uniform is this? How long have you been in the service? How have you been made captain?*" \* \* \* What! that wretch Aubry, is it he that has promoted you to this rank? And I who have been soliciting an audience these six months, have not been able to obtain one! . . . What have you done to obtain this rank? Who are you? Whence do you come? You have fallen from the clouds. Ah! cursed depository of employments, is it thus you distribute them? Ephemeral minister, upstart of a faction which has not, perhaps, forty-eight hours to exist, is it thus you recompense merit? Dangeais, the villains have cashiered me . . . robbed me of my rank . . . my labors . . . my bread . . . my fortune . . . my immortality. They said I was a revolutionist: yes, scoundrels, I am; but not in the sense you mean. You are revolutionists to destroy, to proscribe, to murder. But, if I possess the power, I shall be much more revolutionary . . . my revolution shall be to revolutionize all of you, to give you a model of a revolution . . . Come, Dangeais, to the *Cafe de la Republique*, I will introduce you to my friend Blinkham; I wish this very day to think of the means of abandoning my country altogether."

\* \* \* "The English are mariners, I am not, they are, besides an established people who have no occasion for anybody—a foreigner will never make his fortune among them. In Germany there are too many competitors, Spain would perhaps suit me, there is not a single warrior in that country—"

\* \* \* My dear Blinkam, you are in the right—yes, you are in the right, Constantinople is the place. How silly I was not to think of that—alas! I am so unhappy, that I can no longer think—' "It is a real and important service that you render me, Blinkham I will go to Turkey. The Turks are the most ignorant of all nations in military affairs, for the little knowledge they have of them they are indebted to Frenchmen, persecuted and unfortunate like myself. Well, a Franco Corsican shall unbrutalize them, shall espouse them, with the European tactics I will teach them to pass over three centuries at once, and place them on a level with other nations. Their mutinous spirit dismays me not. I will empale ten regiments, if necessary, to reduce one to obedience. Their ignorance will assist my designs, if they were more enlightened, I should have more obstacles to encounter. Yes, my dear Blinkam, to you I owe everything. I hasten to solicit permission to retire to Constantinople."

\* \* \* "Stop, Dangeais, you do not sufficiently conceive the horror of my situation. You must know that before six months elapse my resources will be exhausted and after that, to whom must I apply? To men—no, may a thunderbolt crush me, before I demean myself so much. What use is talking to me of doubtful chances? Can there be any for the intrepid man who has everything

to gain, every thing to hope, and nothing to lose? Does he not always know how to turn them to his advantage? Can I mind also the character of the people? What is it to me who they are; let me but command them, and we will soon see if I cannot make something of them. As to the distance, this is but a small obstacle to me. If the country of the unfortunate is wherever he can find happiness; that of the ambitious is, where he can lord it over others. I own I should be much better pleased to shine in France, than go and try my fortune among people so little known. This preference is founded on the interest I bear to the preservation of my individual self. The smiling banks of the Seine are more healthy than those of the Bosphorus, and with a third less advantages, I would prefer dealing with a more civilized nation. So, whilst I am making preparations to correspond with the proposal of Mr. Blink-am, I will urge still more eagerly the demands I have made to our government. If I be ultimately rejected, I will then set out; and France will one day learn what she will have lost."

\* \* \* "You are right, Dangeais; but the scoundrels injure me to such a degree, that I sometimes forget myself; however, I know well enough before whom I vented myself; had it been before any other persons, I would have borne my troubles silently.

"You have only a fortnight, you tell me, Dangeais, to remain in Paris, here is my direction. Come and see me: perhaps I shall have some good news to tell you."

#### TELLS OF HIS APPOINTMENT TO COMMAND AT PARIS

\* \* \* "You arrive very seasonably, *I am overwhelmed with thoughts and projects*: had you not returned, I intended to

send for you The few confidential things I have to impart, are so *replete with futurity*, that they oppress me During the last fortnight, I have bounded over an immeasurable space If events turn out as I wish, I shall be *somebody*—I shall even believe myself to be something more than the most distinguished personages of the state Ah, what means they place in my power, without being aware of it I will let them know never fear, I will get on famously it must be so it shall be so, Dangeais, you will

see it is a scheme that must succeed cannot fail Come along with me, I will tell you all about it'

\* \* \* "I will relate the whole matter to you Blinkham that good-natured Englishman, died three weeks after your departure I remained without hope and nearly without resources One better organized than myself would have gone mad Ten days ago, I was thundering against the heavens and against men, when a servant knocked and presented me with a note thus worded —

'Mr Buonaparte is requested to call upon me this evening about ten o'clock I have something important to communicate to him

'Yours,

'BARRAS'

What can Barras want with me? said I to myself *Citizen* is now the universal name, and he addresses me Mr and signs *Yours* too, and yet he is a *houghty politician*! Oh! he wants me poor miserable me no matter, he wants me, when will ten o'clock strike! At last the hour arrived I flew to Barras' house He was alone in his closet "*How does Mr Buonaparte do?* — "*Well, very well, citizen representative*" — "*Citizen come let us drop that What are you doing?* — "*Nothing*" 'So I have been told That Aubry those double milled



*legislators . . . Mr Buonaparte, we are left to shift for ourselves, but I have been thinking of you. A project for a counter revolution is in agitation: the national Convention is threatened. The Sections, stirred up by a few bold individuals, intend to march against the troops that defend this Convention. The troops themselves are excellent, but want a chief that may render them more than intrepid. I immediately thought of you. You must head them instantly. The command suits you in every respect. I know you well; you will soon send these gentry to their homes. Danican is no longer able to connect his operations; every thing is against him. There is no doubt but that your success will be certain, and the country will be once more preserved. You may rely that you shall not be forgotten. We have, it is true, colleagues that curb us; but no matter, once victorious over the plots they have framed, we will handle them in such a manner as to perform our duty in a becoming manner towards the people, whose interests we undertake, and whom a few factious demagogues have succeeded in leading astray."*

I listened attentively to Barras; and his offers had transported me into another world; to such a degree had ambition immersed me into futurity. "Since the preservation of the state is in question," said I to the representative, "you may rely upon my displaying in this affair all the energy and means in my power."—"In that case," said Barras, "to-morrow, here and at the same hour, I will introduce you to a few of my colleagues."

The next day, in fact, I found at Barras' house, the Abbe Sieyes, Rewbel, Letourneur, Roger-Ducos, Merlin, and General Moulins. Had I come down from the moon, these six personages could not have stared at me with more

astonishment Moulins, especially, eyed me from head to foot

"Citizens," said Barras to them, "*I introduce General Buonaparte to you, an officer but little known, but deserving I have made him some proposals which he accepts, and I will answer for him He will proceed as he thinks proper, and will be the very man to head the troops*" All present could not recover from their surprise, they eyed me with insolence, for my part I began to feel enraged at such behaviour, when Moulins addressed me thus "Know, that it is only through the powerful recommendation of Citizen Barras, that we are induced to confide so important a post to you"—"I did not solicit it," replied I dryly, "if I accepted, it was not before I had well considered whether I was capable of the undertaking, for, different from some men, I only undertake that which I am certain of accomplishing" Figure to yourself, Dangeais, my six revolutionary veterans, biting their lips, and each taking to himself his share of the little epigram I had just uttered They distorted a smile of approbation, which had quite a different appearance from what was intended Rewbel immediately made me this remark, "Do you know that it may turn out a very serious affair! That the Sections " I interrupted him, "Well! I will make a serious display, I will bluster and the Sections will calm themselves" This sally, spoken with much assurance, caused all eyes to be fixed on me, but it was no longer with an insolent surprise, on the contrary, it was a species of respect they expressed "That is the very thing," said Letourneur to Merlin, and turning to me, "General, to-morrow you shall receive your commission, and on Tuesday you shall make yourself known to the troops" Some time after this they withdrew I remained alone with Barras, who said to me, "To-morrow you will

go to Perregaux, who will pay you down a thousand crowns; he has his orders. Bourdet has engaged a respectable lodging for you in *Rue du Mont Blac*, with two horses' at your service. Hire a servant, and be ready to review the troops that will be placed under your orders." These instructions being received, I left Barras and went to Perregaux, who received me friendly, and paid me down the thousand crowns.

How determined soever I might be to take advantage of the opportunity, I thought myself compelled to recapitulate the chances I was about to run; for, notwithstanding my promises to Barras, if the party of the Sections had offered as many advantages and less perils, I was the man to have headed them without hesitation. Any other but myself would have considered Barras as a patron; I did not: I hated him from the time he procured me employment. Why so? you will inquire. Because I had fathomed his heart. I was in his eyes a vile instrument, that he would make use of for the sake of his own ambition, and afterwards neglect me. It was under my responsibility that he wished to obtain his ends. He thought I was fully convinced that he was labouring for the happiness of the country, whilst I was persuaded, that he only aimed at discarding his rivals, in order to reign sole master: had I known that such were his thoughts, many of his actions and sayings would have excited this opinion. He had the audacity, do you know, to say to me one day, "*Act your part well, and I will take charge of your preferment.*" The audacious wretch! What does *he* wish to take upon himself? A task of which I would not, on any consideration, allow another person to partake? Were I silly enough to listen to his proposals, he would soon show himself ungrateful. Every person appears despicable in the eyes of these revolution-

ary upstarts, for the man who was but lately crouching in the mire, and all at once sees himself raised to the skies, dares not look below for fear of recognizing himself I will take good care, however, not to let him perceive I know him so well, this would be depriving myself of the sweet satisfaction of proving to him hereafter, that he has been sadly mistaken Therefore, Dangeais, I declare to you, that whatever may be the events about to take place, I am working on my own account And you, my friend under whose banners will you 'range yourself?"

#### HIS ACCOUNT OF THE 13TH VENDEMIARE

"You have heard, what has passed" \* \* \* "Well, Sir, where are those massacres, those murders, those streams of blood? nothing of all that it was a mere *pigeon match*, the noise alone frightened them From the corner of Dauphin Lane to St Roch's Steps, a few volleys some broken windows smashed *certain splashings* in truth, those poor gentry give up their arms at a very cheap rate Danican had badly managed his project, or rather the inhabitants could make but a poor stand against a well-disposed and well conducted line of troops' \* \* \* "We must now see how all this will end for myself, that is the main point Behold me now patronized by the umpires, it only remains for me to become one And you, Mr *Scruple*, what do you intend to do?" \* \* \* "You shall immediately receive a brevet of captain You shall be attached to my staff, for my confidant, must not, you know, be at a distance from me You smile, I see, and yet I have spoken but the truth Sincerely pleased at having one to whom I can confide my secrets, my thoughts, my existence, with you alone I unfold myself Were it not for you, I should

stifle with what passes in my mind, or I should cease being discreet with others; whilst my disclosures to you constitute my discretion elsewhere. And yet, if I were to lose you, no other person should supply your place. Would it be possible? Who, besides you, would not consider the effusions of my ambition and self-love as so many fits of madness? Who, besides yourself, would believe in my expectations and desires? Who, in short, would submit to the severity of my frankness, to the bluntness of my address, to the harshness of my epithets! For, to be plain, I know myself; I know how *rough-hewn*, how difficult I am." \* \* \* "I wish to be thus in order to be something great hereafter. Recollect, Dangeais, that mildness, good-nature, an easy access, a mellow way of expressing oneself, and complaisance, exclude energy, audacity, ambition, and great political means; and you know well enough, whether, without these shining qualities, I can ever reach the point I aim at. Great men, like great fortunes, seldom emanate from a calm: in fact, we find that it is neither with honey in their mouths, nor silk gloves on their hands, that most of the privileged heroes have gained their renown. I must tell you then, that you are necessary to the *storms* that agitate my existence, and that consequently I feel myself happy in having you near me. You are not guided by ambition; I feel a certain degree of ambition for you. If fortune should smile on me, then it will be for me to labour for yours . . . \* \* \* I commanded on the 13th Vendemiaire: this is a rallying point. The facetious will be convinced, that something may be made of me; they will have their eyes on me, will speak of me; imagine the rest. This evening, besides, I shall see Barras; we have a settling to make."

\* \* \* "Are you asleep, Dangeas?" \* \* \* "Come down, I have something to say to you" \* \* \* An abomination an infamy      What do you think of that Barras, who attributes to himself all the honour of the day on the 13th? There he has been for these two hours in his dressing room, swallowing down all the praises bestowed on the right dispositions he had made      I was present, scarcely did they deign to address me a single word      Had I been his lieutenant, I should have been more kindly received      The coxcomb received it all, without bestowing on me the least share      I was in complete torture      I would have pulverized him, if my looks could have darted lightning, and yet he could look at me without blushing      I came out, for I could not contain myself any longer      Had I remained, I should have vented myself in a furious manner, on those sycophants and their paltry and despicable idol, but to-morrow I shall have an explanation, he shall retract, he shall render me justice publicly, or I will publish a relation of the day's action, and depend upon it, his picture shall not be in the fore ground"

\* \* \* "You are right, I am still but a *weasel* in comparison with this ambitious *porpoise*      I must not thunder as yet, but to forgive him the robbery he has committed against me, never, my friend, never! Ah! if some day      Oh! the happy day! it will be a repast of ambrosia and nectar!"

Tomorrow we will pay him a visit      I spoke to him of you and your want of employment      Nothing appeared to him more easy than to procure you some, he wishes to see you"

#### BARRAS PROPOSES MATRIMONY

'Thank heaven, the affair has turned out well, I followed your advice and restrained myself      I must own in

deed, that he spoke to me in such a manner as to make me look over many things. This is nearly what he said. 'Nothing of what passed yesterday, in your mind, escaped me. You were vexed at the praises heaped upon me; praises which were mostly due to you. But let not that affect you; it is a gratuitous gift which circumstances compel me to receive; it is a momentary sacrifice you must make to me. Buonaparte, I appreciate your value. Your conduct, on the 13th, has marked out your qualifications; you cannot remain where you are. I wish to provide for you, and to your satisfaction. But before anything is done, you must enter into some matrimonial alliance; somebody of rank, some person of distinction; this will give you some stability . . . ' Now, Dangeais, I appeal to you, whether such a proposal had not wherewith to surprise me, I will even say to humble me? What! I in want of a woman to uphold me? My ambition to be compelled to support itself on the weakest part of the creation? Such an idea could never possess my mind. 'You surely don't think so, Sir,' replied I to Barras, 'for me to marry! . . . Why, I have not yet drawn my sword. Wait, at least, till I have proceeded a little farther in my career.' — 'That is my very aim to facilitate the means for you. Before you refuse, however, know who it is I destine for you; her dowry is ready, and I presume, that, in your possession, it may become incalculable; yes, General, incalculable.' — 'Well now, Barras, you are proposing enigmas to me.' — 'Allow me to give you a clue to their solution.' — 'I consent, with all my heart, if it be only to amuse myself.' — 'I require no more of you. The consequences will follow. To-morrow, I will call for you; I will take you to the theatre; thence we will call on Tallien, and we will then see whether your sentiments will be the same when you return home.'

"This is, my friend, the substance of my conversation with Barras. You plainly see that it would not have become me to express the resentment I feel towards him. Not that I intend lending myself to his matrimonial projects, but the preponderance he enjoys, that which he may hereafter acquire, and the eagerness he seems to display in my behalf, impose an obligation on me, to *becalm* myself in his presence, in order to stimulate his benign inclinations."

## HIS EXPERIENCE IN LOOKING FOR A MATE

\* \* \* "Let us have no more of the dowry, I know not in what it consists, but were it still more unbounded, I would not partake of it with the *doll* that Barras intends for me. Imagine to yourself a giddy young girl, talking about everything and saying nothing, in fits of laughter, and not knowing the reason, interrupting an interesting conversation to talk of a mere bauble, valuing nothing so much as balls, parties, play houses, and concerts, and you will have the portrait of Miss F——. To judge by the care that was taken to place me near her, and by certain hints now and then thrown out, I plainly perceived that this silly girl was intended as the future companion of my life. Had I not been persuaded of the good intentions of Barras, I should have thought he wished to insult me, and I should have insisted on an explanation from him. Miss F—— often directed her discourse to me. Each word she uttered was an impertinence, supported by a stupidity, and an inconceivable behavior. I should, I really believe, have turned my back to her had it not been for the sake of politeness. But if this young person importuned me with her prattle, fortunately I was compensated by an agreeable lady on my left! she was a perfect contrast with Miss F——,



this amiable widow, for so I was informed she was, was nearly of my own age. Candour, gentility, and affability were depicted on her countenance. The least word that escaped her, showed her education and knowledge. Her name is unknown to me, but I will venture to say, that she has been accustomed to high society; her manners, her most trifling actions proved it. In short, my friend, if I could possibly love any other person but myself, this young widow should be my bosom companion.

\* \* \* Never should I be in love with a woman." "Why? that is a question I will answer at some future period. Let us at present prepare for breakfast: Barras is to be here. I told him last night he might freely explain himself before you, and that I had no secrets of which I did not wish you to be a partaker. As he invited himself to breakfast I presume it is to know what impression Miss F—— has made on my heart; in that case, my answer is ready, and the hussy shall have nothing to boast of."

\* \* \* I will not hesitate to tell you that this lady does not suit me in any respect." \* \* \* "I will own, that if I had choice to make, it would fall on the amiable widow that was on my right. Only tell me whether she was in intelligence with you." \* \* \* "Pray what is her name?" \* \* \* "Madam Beauharnais? that is a devilish pretty name!" \* \* \* "What you offer, Sir, is magnificent; truly such a dowry may be cultivated . . . I had requested a few days for reflection, but tomorrow you may depend upon a decisive answer."

## ACCOUNT OF HIS MEETING WITH JOSEPHINE

\* \* \* "Yes, I am irrevocably fixed Ah! my friend, none but myself can fathom the abyss of expectations I have formed from what I have heard Let who chooses, condemn my weakness, but it is so noble, so great, it has so much analogy that it appears to me a prognostication, and the forerunner of a wonderful opportunity that I ought to seize by the forelock Listen to me, you shall judge

"After Barras left us this morning I went in haste to Madam Gohier's, determined in my own mind to turn the conversation on Madam Beauharnais Without, however, saying a word of my secret intentions, chance favored me beyond my expectations there was a small party at Madam Gohier's, and without my mentioning Madam Beauharnais' name, she became the subject of our conversation in the following manner

"They were joking on the simplicity of those persons who believe in fortune-telling at cards

"'I am nearly of your opinion,' said then the lady of the house, 'and yet, when I was in Lyons, I was silly enough to have my nativity cast by a reputable astronomer He was either a sorcerer, or else chance favoured him greatly, for he told me, you will not marry the person whom you love, but you will love him who will marry you Now, really, this prediction has been realized to a tittle'—'I know something still more extraordinary,' said Massena, 'you are all acquainted with Madam Beauharnais well, when she was Miss Tascher de la Pagerie, a kind of gypsy told her, at Martinico You will marry very young, your marriage will not be the happiest, your husband will die a violent death, you will marry again; you will be a queen,

and yet you will not die on the throne. What are we to think of this prediction, which has partly been realized? As for me, I must confess that these are things not to be accounted for.'

"Every person present began to reason on this singular event; but who, in the circle, could be more deeply interested than myself? I thought that I discovered, in the chance that gave me intelligence of it, a secret warning, not to let an opportunity escape of connecting my destiny with that of a woman who expected a throne. You smile, my friend; you think me superstitious. Do but connect the circumstances; what analogy! what a likelihood! I aim at the first rank in society; I am unacquainted with Madam Beauharnais; chance conducted me to a man who proposed her as my wife, and it is to this wife that a crown has been predicted! Ah! Dangeais, something tells me to make a trial! What would not be my despair hereafter, if now disdaining this young widow, I were to see her destiny accomplished with another husband. I shall never survive it, that is certain. I am determined to go immediately to Barras, and inform him that I am ready to consent to the marriage he proposes."

"Do you know, Dangeais, that the first *tête-à-tête* of two individuals destined for each other, is a complete drudgery? I will frankly confess to you, that I could never have imagined it so unpleasant. The embarrassment it caused me, makes me even now completely ashamed of myself; I was for the moment a mere man, and even one of the weakest. It is true, that Madam Beauharnais had made a more than deep impression on me. As beautiful as a very handsome woman can be at the age of twenty-seven, this lady united to perfect gentility, that noble and exalted air which would

become a throne. This observation recalled to my mind the gypsy's prophecy, and I imagined it already half accomplished.

"Josephine was seated near a window facing the garden; I occupied another chair on her right: I felt quite lost and speechless; when I suddenly reflected that my silence might give her a very bad opinion of my person, and intellectual powers. Inspire contempt to a woman, thought I, cause disdain to rise within her? . . . No . . . I could not brook the idea. Suddenly I started from my reverie, not as an insipid and languishing lover, faltering with plaintive accent his soothing tale of love, but as a man of energy, speaking alternately the language of tenderness and reason.

" 'Madam,' said I to Josephine, 'had I felt less abashed in your presence, I should not have remained so long silent. May my silence impart to you what passes within my breast, and supply the place of those eulogiums I should feel happy to lavish on you, were I not convinced that your modesty equals your amiability. I trust you will, Madam, pardon me this laconism, and allow me to say for you, *he knows well how to love, but badly to express it*. Why need I, moreover, enter into greater details? Are you not aware of the motives of our interview? If nothing prevent you from the proposed alliance; if nothing in me, induce you to defer the happy day, speak it confidently; render me happy with your compliance. Madam, the general in chief of the Italian army flatters himself, that he will not lose any time in advancing your prosperity and glory; as to your young children, be assured that you will be giving them an affectionate father. Your son may serve under me his apprenticeship in the art of war; and I have no doubt but that, docile to my instructions, he will rank hereafter among

the first-rate captains.' My eyes were fixed upon Josephine, and without flattering myself too much, I could plainly read in her looks that the precision of my declaration had not offended her.—'Your candour, General,' replied she, 'compels me also to speak sincerely. Be pleased, however, to satisfy yourself with this information, that he already merits my esteem and friendship, who promises to cherish my young family. Mr. Buonaparte, I place my son under your care, his future happiness is my anxious wish; I know to whom I confide him. Happy indeed shall I consider myself, if hereafter my tenderness and attention can recompense you for the care you will bestow on him. You may, Sir, now fix the period of our union.' This answer, you may be assured, Dangeais, completed my happiness; and I shall now call on Barras to fix the day of our marriage."

\* \* \* "I am but little acquainted with Josephine as yet, but still I almost certain, that her husband will be able to gain something from her profound knowledge, and to regulate his own ideas, by the wisdom of her counsels. Do not think, however, that I intend to associate a woman in my grand enterprizes. Far from me such a degrading resource! But I shall rank among my avocations the little confidences I shall now and then impart to my companion."

#### APPOINTED GENERAL IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY IN ITALY

"With my credentials of general in chief of the army in Italy, I received also your brevet of lieutenant-colonel, and will retain you with me in quality of aide-de-camp; yes, my friend, custom has rendered you absolutely necessary to me; and whatever my future prospects may be, you alone shall be the confidential depository of my secret disclosures."

"Thanks be to God, I am now out of the capital! Dangeais, you have no idea of the load that is removed from my heart. What a state was mine but lately? I was under the sceptre of five masters of my own making, for to be plain, had it not been for my energy on the 13th Vendémiaire, Barras and his associates would perhaps, instead of a dictatorial throne, have found either exile or death. What a painful task it is to be the instrument of one man's elevation, when I myself aim at dominion over my fellow citizens! But it cannot be helped, every one must have his turn, and that is what torments me. Would you believe it, my friend, this directory and these counsellors do not even honour me so far as to suspect me of being ambitious. I am no longer under their eyes, and I will not, *let it cost me what it may*, place a torrent of renown between their power and the use they may make of it against me.

"And yet I have much to occupy my mind. I will first begin by my generals, for it is necessary that I should analyze them, and become acquainted with their intentions. I have a thousand methods to attain that end, methods, which perhaps you would never suspect. \* \* \* If I were to follow your advice, I suppose then I should go tomorrow morning to each of them, and humbly make them protestations of friendship, claim their indulgence, celebrate their exploits, and beg their suffrages. Dangeais, I plainly see you will never change, you will always be a mere atom in the art of raising yourself in the estimation of men. *Report has nearly furnished me with the character of the superior officers who are to serve under me.* These have nothing in common with me. Their ambition is but that of a general, mine is of unlimited power. Besides, they are my elders in the career, their titles are evident, mine are to be acquired, I know well enough that they look

upon me as a mere upstart, a mere instrument in the hands of a government, which perhaps they secretly despise. How must I escape these presumptions, these repugnances, and display myself in a noble manner to these military men? Must it be by appearing as any other man? Why I should ruin myself! How much better I intend to act, in order to make an impression. My behaviour must be noble, imposing, and haughty; my appearance courteous, but at the same time circumspect and lofty, should immediately announce a superior being, a man in short worthy of commanding them. Depend upon it, my friend, I shall be able to bring about all this. Tomorrow then, as soon as my staff have introduced themselves to me, experience will prove to you the excellency of my method.

#### OFFERS NEW IDEAS IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

\* \* \* "While I render justice to your luminous observations, allow me, Gentlemen, to lay before you some new ideas. The art of war, be assured, is in its infancy. For these ages past war has been carried on in a theatrical and effeminate manner. We are not now-a-days to give each other rendezvous, and our hats under our arm, to say to the enemy: *Gentlemen, please to fire first; we never do.* Such silly gentry as these, who make of a battle a duel in the field, must be no patterns for us, entrusted as we are with the high interests that at present set us in motion. *To slash our enemy, rush like a torrent on their battalions, and lay them in the dust; this is restoring warfare to its primitive state. Thus did Alexander and Cæsar rush forward.* Experienced generals, you say, are to oppose me. So much the better, Gentlemen, so much the better. It is not with experience, that they will gain battles with me. These

secret jealousy, to dread from their auditors. As no one envied them a post which was, I may say, hereditary in their families, they had no need to speak out in a determined manner, to captivate, to dazzle, nor to force into their plans; they had merely to follow the track marked out for them, in order to be great men; but as for me, I can only become so by the *sweat of my brow*. One single scene of my part is more harassing than the whole act of their brilliant existence. Were I now one of those three heroes, I should scarcely cause the least sensation. There is some difference, let me tell you, between the court and ministry of Louis XVI. and the government of a Barras, a Rewbel, and other such *myrmidons*. These reflections escaped you, my friend. You assimilate the present to the past, while there is not the least connexion between them. You imagine that men and circumstances are the same as they were fifty years ago. This is an error, which proves a want of judgment and penetration. You may, however, console yourself by thinking that your fault is peculiar to many other persons.

“Did you not, moreover, perceive that not one objection was started against my system? And yet, *Massena*, *D’Allemagne*, *Rampon*, and *La Harpe*, were present, who had a right and a fair pretence to make any reply they thought proper. No, no, I completely stopped their mouths. Thunderstruck at the temerity of my ideas, which they would not have even expected in me, I only gave them the power of waiting for the event to applaud or condemn it.”

\* \* \* “Do you think then that I intended to steer my bark merely into dock? Depend upon it, Dangeais, when I first hoisted my sails, I foresaw every storm, and determined within myself to brave them. *Whoever, has not mounted Bucephalus, will never be borne on the steed of*



*glory* This is as much as if I told you, that I dread nothing from futurity, and that all I have done, all I do, and all I shall hereafter do, was, is, and ever will be adapted to the character I have assumed”

\* \* \* “I know the authors of these articles, the editor is but the compiler of other people's opinions That directory, with Barras at their head, who fancy they have honoured me with their patronage perceive now that I have raised myself, and they fear for their own power, as they cannot attack me face to face, they are intriguing in order to ruin my reputation, the cowards and yet they are right enough I soar too high I am becoming formidable I have a great mind to intrigue also on my part, but as yet I am but a general I am not powerful enough”

#### LETTER TO LUCIEN ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

“De Gratz, 18th of April, 1797

“Dear Brother,

‘The preliminaries of peace, which I have just adjusted with Messieurs de Marfeld and de Gallo, would necessarily require my presence at Paris, but I cannot at the present remove hence Have the goodness then to repair immediately to the capital The interests you will there promote are of the highest importance, *viz* —

“To obtain the ratification of the said preliminaries the specifying of the place for treating on a definitive peace, and my nomination to the embassy You must make use of every means you possibly can to circumvent the government, and induce it to confer every power on me Pay private visits to the members of the directory, prove to

dred leagues in an hour. And now, my dear friend, for I delight in repeating your youthful apostrophes, is my head still cracked, think you? Am I losing myself in imaginary illusions? The little protegee of the late kind Mr. Marbeuf, has not yet seen thirty summers, and he commands in the palace of the Doges. This is, I think, knowing tolerably well how to choose a lodging. Then those illustrious and grave senators, related in an ideal and burlesque line, to the Adriatic Sea, you find, Dangeais, are paying their homage to a young Corsican. The projects I am now meditating, I must own, have something ludicrous in them; imagine to yourself, the son of a private gentleman of Ajaccio, taking possession of one of the finest countries in Europe, the inheritance of the Cæsars, the birth-place of Raphael, Tasso, and Dante; the cradle of the fine arts; in short, of Italy; imagine to yourself, I repeat, these fine countries turned topsy-turvey by a young man of six and twenty; and yet this is what you will very shortly see. Yes, as much for diversion sake, as for philosophy and policy, I intend to overturn, change, suppress, and create all the government of Italy. You seem not to be aware of the grand operations I am about to undertake; but have a little patience; you will shortly see what you are to expect."

#### INTERVIEW WITH THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES

\* \* \* "If like you, Sir, I should be called upon to discuss the interests of my government; excuse me if I differ in opinion with you as to the qualities you suppose indispensable for this great undertaking. Allow me to observe to you, that you are not at all qualified for the part you have to perform. In my eyes, Sir, you appear very little struck with your situation; very little impressed with the advan-

tages that our military triumphs give us You are come hither to dictate your pleasure, and not to subscribe to that of the conquered What France is to acquire, ought to be considered as what she is entitled to and, with this view there is need neither of circumlocutions, nor of equivocal notes, artifices necessary merely for him who is in fear, or who wishes to temporize Were I but a school boy, your task would appear to me perfectly easy I should not, however, flatter myself so far as to suppose it required such vast knowledge and such extraordinary skill With prudence, wisdom, and frankness I would settle the business, without imagining I had performed any very great or very difficult task Double dealing and dissimulation are necessary at certain times and places, truth, sincerity, and conciseness, when one can use them with impunity and imperatively It was at the Congress of Udine that I acquired a perfect knowledge of the diplomatic style, and of the method to be pursued in these negotiations, which persons of sense and probity would terminate with such ease, and which certain persons possess the fatal secret of rendering perpetual

"Reflecting one day that the foreign negociators merely wished to cause delay and settle nothing, I wrote out the following note, which I presented to the Congress *'The emperor insists upon having Venice, his territory, and Dalmatia. The Netherlands shall belong to France'*

" 'Gentlemen,' said I to the plenipotentiaries, 'all discussion is at present extraneous I have traced out this ultimatum with the point of my sword, and my horse is saddled in case of objection' It was thus that I expressed myself on the 16th of October, and, on the 17th peace was signed What man would be quite unworthy of his mission, who would not know how to suit his policy to circumstances, and, for

my part, I cannot see, that, to act thus, it is necessary to possess so extraordinary a knowledge. But there are certain diplomatists who fancy themselves demi-gods, when they have succeeded in framing long and tedious disputations, the substance of which might be easily contained in a single period. Such persons as these would think themselves dishonoured, if they were laconic or sincere, when they could be so. This infatuation, it is true, belongs to the profession, and nations do not perceive they are the sufferers."

#### CRITICISM OF THE DIRECTORY

"What is your opinion of our five ephemeral monarchs? did you remark with what coolness they bestowed their eulogiums? One would have supposed that they were hesitating whether they should inflict the lash on me, or render me the justice they did. It is, to be sure, a painful task to flatter a person whom we dread. Yes, Dangeais, ever since my exploits have consolidated their power, the ungrateful set envy and detest me. The difference of their words and thoughts towards me, is as vast as the distance is from heaven to earth. But, am I not right in accusing them? Can they look upon me with calm and disinterested views? Certainly not; as knowing, as they are penetrating, they have dived into my very heart; my ambition has appeared to them what it is, great, vast, exclusive; and strongly disposed to kick them out whenever an opportunity shall present itself. It is wrong, therefore, in me to be vexed at their malign disposition towards me. I must now, therefore, labour incessantly on the necessary means to put an end to this equivocal position. And I trust, that by straining every nerve, I shall attain my ends."

## VAST PROJECTS CONFIDED TO COMRADE OF HIS YOUTH

"Come, my friend, and take a walk, I wish to have a little conversation with you. My silence must have puzzled you amazingly. \* \* \* Oh! but you are to blame to feel hurt at it," continued he: "I was completely wrapt in thought upon the world, upon men and circumstances. Every distraction would have appeared as a robbery committed on my interests, an interruption to my important researches, I wished to be alone, in order to embrace every thing, Dangeais; I have suffered very much for the last fortnight. You must thence conclude that my character is changed. Not in the least, never was I so well aware of its energy and courage; I am not dead. Hundreds of vulgar minds, my friend, would have sunk under the weight of my anguish, if they could have felt as I did. Why is it not natural to me to stop where I am! How many in my situation would fancy themselves well off! For I am well off, very well off, excessively well off! Yes, I am a wretch, not to be able to be happy under such prosperity; but I cannot; the task is above my strength; I feel myself *sinking* . . . Dangeais, every thing, I believe, is over in Europe for me, I must determine upon living in it on a second or third footing.

"Bold intriguers, ambitious orators will sway the sceptre . . . Alas! since Frenchmen suffer this and I am too weak to oppose it, let me at least, not witness it! Dangeais, accept this day a confidence I have kept from you for these fifteen years. *I wish to reign, yes, my friend, to reign*; were it only over a village; I wish to be independent, if not in France, I must be so on some foreign shore. What is it to me where it is, so it be so, and that in every thing, and to every one I can say, *I will!*

“My ambition, after having wandered over the immensity of the universe, has fixed itself upon Egypt. This country seems to offer me the most fortunate chances: the people who inhabit it, cruelly harrassed by the Beys and Mamelukes, will see with delight a brave army and a renowned general labour to extricate them from the encroachments of their oppressors. Milder laws, better treatment, a general affranchisement, will easily bind them to my standard: from this place to Syria, the passage is but short. I will march towards that province and soon a new kingdom shall spring from the ruins of the ancient one. What a spectacle will this be, my friend, to the astonished universe! A Corsican at the head of a French victorious army, re-establishing the Holy City, and getting himself proclaimed as prince and sovereign of the celebrated land, where was born and died the God of Christians, will be one of those events, which change the appearance of the world, and which will be scarcely credited, even after their existence. What little justice did you and my friends, my dear Dangeais, render me, when sequestered under the thick shades of these ancient oaks, I was losing myself in this magnificent futurity! Ought you not to have said? Some grand conceptions deprive us of his society. But no: you accused me of weakness; my silence was, in your opinion, a want of energy and character, I was in short beneath my ambition; oh, the pitiful error, the absence of sagacity! Whilst you were judging so wrongly of my firmness, all my moral and physical faculties were absorbed in the details of a conception no less admirable than gigantic. Thanks to my activity, all the parts of my plan are fixed upon; not an atom is neglected; all is foreseen, both the conduct to be pursued in the course of the operation, and the obstacles I shall have to surmount. Now, my friend,

be kind enough to tell me what you think of my projects "

\* \* \* "These interrogatories, however just they may be, stagger me not in the least In reply to the first I say As soon as ever I shall be in Egypt, all those who will have followed me, will necessarily attach themselves to me Officers, soldiers and other persons, suddenly rendered incapable of returning to their country, will find one in the land where I shall procure them all kinds of prosperity Nine tenths of those, who, if they were to return to France, freed from service, would be obliged to labour, each day by the sweat of their brow to procure themselves necessities, whilst, in my new empire they will meet either with civil employment or military posts, which will shelter them from want, and supply them with abundance My superior officers enrich them with the treasures of the Pachas Beys, and Mamalukes I will chain them to the climate with harems where shall bloom the divine Circassians, and the beautiful Georgians Think you not, Dangeais, that such brilliant advantages as these will detach them from a country where indigence might reach them, and to the shores of which I will take care that no vessel shall ever transport them?

"Was it not always in the nature of the indigent man, to prefer the land where riches and pleasures dwell, to that where trouble, misery, and privation besiege him on all sides? As to gaining the voice of government to adopt my plan, I am well convinced I shall receive its approbation, even if they judge it as an extravagant one The pleasure alone of removing me from their presence, will induce them to make the greatest sacrifices I wish not, however, that this project should appear of my concerting One of my friends has taken upon himself to present to the directors

the plan of this grand expedition, which has for its principal motive the necessity of humbling the English power in Asia. In his opinion, our successes in this part of the world will deprive England of its store of abundance, and will shut up the richest markets of Africa.

"How gladly will the directory seize this pretext, much more apparent than solid, to cast upon a foreign shore the man whom they secretly dread; the warrior who threatens their power! Ask what I will, men of every profession, warriors, treasures, and vessels, all will be granted me.

"To prevent the observations you might make as to the dangers of the enterprize and the distance of the situation, I have only two words to say: *I wish at any rate to be independent and to command others.* This two-fold inclination once irrevocably expressed, ought to prevent any person from endeavoring to thwart my designs;—designs which are not so disproportionate to my means, as most men would imagine."

#### ON THE EVE OF DEPARTING TO EGYPT

"Well, Mr. Incredulous," said he to me one day, "what did I tell you a few days since? *Treasures, warriors, and vessels; ask what I will, all will be granted me.* Were not these my expressions? And are they not realized? Answer me, for I must induce you to confess, that fortune holds me by the hand."

\*\*\* "Mere timidity; cautious proceedings that destroy all energy! If I were to think of the consequences, I should not perform any thing. But thanks to my observations, I am more than convinced, that no man ever reached the zenith of greatness, who always acts with prudence and reflection. The ambitious man, like the navigator, should

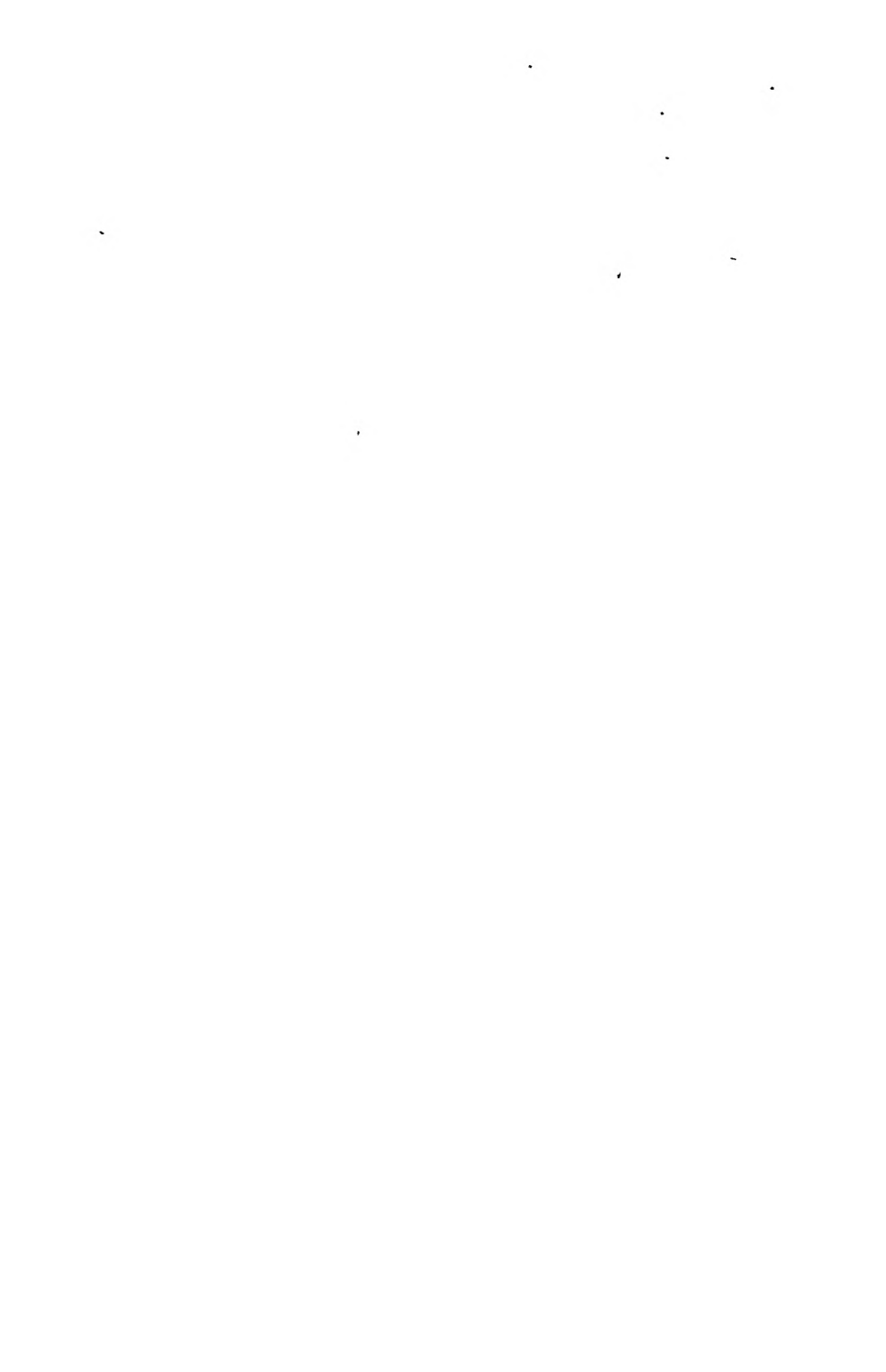




### NAPOLEON AT ARCOLE

*From the Painting by Antoine Jean Gros*

You seem not to be aware of the grand operations  
I am about to undertake but have a little patience  
you will shortly see what you are to expect.



shake off every dread of shoals and tempests: for never would a vessel have ploughed the ocean, if the pilot had had any idea of the perils he was about to encounter. Ambition of whatever kind it may be, temerity, audacity, intrepidity, and want of reflection, have alone given knowledge to our globe of the grand empires that it contains, and the treasures within its bowels. Prudence and wisdom are but secondary means, and calculated only to direct the employment of those riches. Great passions acquire, milder virtues preserve; therefore, my friend, allow me to put in action the grand principles of acquiring them; a time will come when I will put into practice the peaceable means of preserving. Who, if fortune favoured him as she does me, would not thus reason? I have indirectly required much from the directory; my requisitions have been granted. This beginning encourages me, and I am going to solicit more.

"My projected empire requires other persons besides soldiers: I intend to unite learned men of every class with them. I wish to be acquainted with the most trifling particulars of the country; the course of the rivers; the advantages they present; the nature of the soil, the amelioration of which it may be susceptible; the disposition of the inhabitants, their manners, the degree of courage and weakness they possess, their inclinations, prejudices; what may confine them to one spot or stimulate them in another; in short, the laws which are most suitable to them. To attain these ends, I wish to have with me philosophers and mathematicians, naturalists and chemists, geographers and astronomers, antiquaries and engineers, historians and poets, painters and musicians. These several persons will, each in his profession, extend his knowledge throughout the country. They will educate their youth, whose number,

in course of time, will increase, and my empire will be perfectly European. \* \* \* There is nothing to fear; the fear of the present blinds them too much to think of the future; for were I to ask workmen of every kind, they would grant them without a moment's reflection."

"I leave my wife to observe how things go in France. Lucien and Joseph shall be the advanced guard, and the other members of the family shall be on the look out. Who knows besides, whether they may not hereafter serve to protect my retreat? There are so many chances on the theatre I am about to enter upon.

I shall know well how to seize the moment and opportunity to send for them, should fortune smile on me upon the banks of the Nile."

On the 2nd of May, 1798, Buonaparte received his last instructions from the directory. These formed rather a voluminous treatise. "*Here,*" said the general, shewing it to me, "*here is the contract of the sale, which the French government makes me of the kingdom of Jerusalem and Tripoli.*"

Two days were sufficient for the general to organize the army, and complete the equipment of the fleet. On the 12th, the troops began to embark, and on the 14th this operation was terminated. What an interesting spectacle did this army embarking for Egypt present! What feelings did it not inspire for the warlike and noble youths, the four-fifths of whom were never again to revisit their native country. Napoleon even, struck at the magnificent appearance of this army, could not forbear saying to me, in terms that unfolded the secrets of his soul: "*This is a noble empire, I am embarking for my own emolument.*"<sup>1</sup>

### III

#### GOVERNMENT, POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

I have always gone with the opinions of great masses and with events

'I have always been of opinion that the sovereignty lay in the people'

'The best diplomacy is to go straight to the object'

NAPOLEON

THE EXCERPTS in this section deal with Napoleon's views as First Consul, Emperor, and Exile, and, as the caption indicates, are chiefly confined to matters pertaining to government, politics, and diplomacy. The reader will note many instances of his profound grasp of the essentials of these all-important phases of state-craft. The principles he enunciated, being fundamental, may be applied to many of the problems confronting the statesmen of our own time. Among the striking features herein noticeable are lucidity, directness, force and insight in dealing with the vast affairs of the French Empire. The few examples of his correspondence also demonstrate his consummate ability in expressing his ideas.

IF HE ever practiced any dissimulation in his conduct towards professed Jacobins, it was that, in truth, he feared them—a fear which followed him even to the throne. Of this I had a proof not more than three years ago, in an observation made by him, which, though trivial, was sufficiently expressive.

He had just given an appointment of very great importance to a man who had figured at the tribune of the Jacobins. The High Treasurer made some very wise and just remarks

on the appointment. "I know well all that you would say," Napoleon replied; "but the reasons you urge for his exclusion are precisely those which have determined me to give him the place. He is a savage beast, I know, but this dignity shall be his gag." To this the High Treasurer replied, that the time was past when such kind of men were to be feared. "They are always to be feared, sir," Napoleon responded. "These chameleons are always to be feared. For the rest, the thing is done, let no more be said about it. When the wolf has his throat full, he can no longer bite."

HERE FOLLOWS word for word the extract of a letter which he wrote to a Royalist:—

"You are importunate, too importunate; you will mar everything. No, sir, let events take their course, and then let us follow them with the utmost eagerness. I wait the annihilation of an odious power, and the death of all the lesser powers; then, what influence I have, if any, will prove to you that your answer of yesterday evening was not applicable to me. But I readily forget this scene; do you on your side never forget that, in time, I shall be what you wish."

He never signed or directed such letters and they were always sent by some confidential person.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* "Your Grand Elector," said I,\* "in one of our last conversations, would be nothing but an idle king; the time for do-nothing kings is gone by; what man of any kind or feeling would submit to such idleness? Six millions of francs and the Tuileries to play the stage-king in, put his signature to other people's work, and do nothing of himself—all this is an impossibility, a dream; your Grand Elector would be nothing but a pig to fatten, or else a master, the

\* The First Consul speaking to Sieyes.

more absolute because he would have no responsibility. I tell you plainly, that if I consented to be your Grand Elector, I would laugh at you, and do what I choose; I would tell the consuls of peace and war—"If you will not do what I wish, I will displace you," and thus I should become the master by a winding way, in spite of your constitution."<sup>2</sup>

IN EVERY action of his life Bonaparte had some particular object in view. I recollect his saying to me one day, "Bourrienne, I cannot yet venture to do anything against the regicides; but I will let them see what I think of them. Tomorrow I shall have some business with Abrial respecting the organization of the court of Cassation. Targer, who is president of that court, would not defend Louis XVI. Well, whom do you think I mean to appoint in his place? . . . Tronchet, who did defend the king. They may say what they please; *I care not.*" Tronchet was appointed.<sup>3</sup>

TO CITIZEN LUCIEN BONAPARTE, AMBASSADOR AT MADRID  
Paris, 3rd Messidor, Year IX.

(June 22, 1801).

I have received your letter of 24th Prairial. Affairs of such importance are no child's play.

Your last letters from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and mine, will have informed you that all the present plan depends on our taking possession of two or three Portuguese provinces.

Can it be possible that with your good sense, and knowledge of the human heart, you can have let yourself be deceived by Court flatteries, and that you should not have been able to make Spain aware of her real interests?

In a word, here lies the whole question. If the three provinces are occupied, we shall have an honourable peace with

your country. They will then have time to prepare their answers to the plans I shall have the honour of laying before them at the general meeting."

ON THE TWELFTH of Floreal, his secretary composed for him the speech which he made at the secret committee that took place at Saint Cloud on the seventeenth of the same month. This committee consisted of forty three persons, selected from the first bodies of the State, but principally from the Senate, and amongst them his own secret emissaries had been slyly slipped in, for the purpose of giving a proper turn to the proceedings. Napoleon having taken eight days to prepare himself adequately for the occasion, then delivered the following speech in the most humble tone

"Gentlemen

"In thus assembling you around me, I have no other object than to give you timely notice of an event whose consequences cannot fail to ensure the glory, tranquillity, and happiness of our country. For a long time past, not only the capital, but also the provinces, have been busily occupied in presenting me with a heap of addresses, in all of which a wish is very strongly expressed of seeing the Government centralized in one single family

"If we are to credit these addresses, then a single chief, elected according to the constitution of the Republic, and agreeable to the will of the French people, on their being consulted—a single chief, to whom all other authorities might attach themselves, would shatter forever the object at which some ambitious men are aiming, and would give not only more stability to the State itself, but also a stronger pledge to foreign courts

"The good opinion of my fellow-citizens, too indulgent in my behalf, imposes upon me, however, an obligation not to



from the superiors. They, of course, always speak well of their own work! When I was in the Temple I could not help thinking of the unfortunate Louis XVI. He was an excellent man, but too amiable, too gentle for the times. He knew not how to deal with mankind! And Sir Sidney Smith! I made them show me his apartment. If the fools had not let him escape I should have taken St. Jean d'Acre! There are too many painful recollections connected with that prison! I will certainly have it pulled down some day or other! What do you think I did at the Temple? I ordered the jailors' books to be brought to me, and finding that some hostages were still in confinement I liberated them. 'An unjust law,' said I, 'has deprived you of liberty; my first duty is to restore it to you.' Was not this well done, Bourrienne?"<sup>8</sup>

I\* FIND a fresh proof of this in the following passage, which he dictated to M. de Montholon at St. Helena. "If," said he, "the royal confidence had not been placed in men whose minds were unstrung by too important circumstances, or who, renegades to their country, saw no safety or glory for their master's throne except under the yoke of the Holy Alliance; if the Duc de Richelieu, whose ambition was to deliver his country from the presence of foreign bayonets; if Chateaubriand, who had just rendered valuable services at Ghent; if they had had the direction of affairs, France would have emerged from these two great national crises powerful and redoubtable. Chateaubriand had received from Nature the sacred fire—his works show it! His style is not that of Racine but of a prophet. Only he could have said with impunity in the chamber of peers, 'that the red-ingote and cocked hat of Napoleon, put on a stick on the coast of Brest, would make all Europe run to arms.'"<sup>9</sup>

\* Bourrienne.

"You know," added Napoleon, "that I set out in a week for Italy. I shall make myself King, but that is only a step pping stone. I have greater designs respecting Italy. It must be a kingdom comprising all the Transalpine States, from Venice to the Maritime Alps. The union of Italy with France can only be temporary, but it is necessary, in order to accustom the nations of Italy to live under common laws. The Genoese, the Piedmontese, the Venetians, the Milanese, the inhabitants of Tuscany, the Romans, and the Neapolitans hate each other. None of them will acknowledge the superiority of the other, and yet Rome is, from the recollections connected with it, the natural capital of Italy. To make it so, however, it is necessary that the power of the Pope should be confined within limits purely spiritual. I cannot now think of this, but I will reflect upon it hereafter. At present I have only vague ideas on the subject, but they will be matured in time, and then all depends on circumstances. What was it told me, when we were walking like two idle fellows, as we were, in the streets of Paris, that I should one day be master of France—my wish—merely a vague wish. Circumstances have done the rest. It is therefore wise to look into the future, and that I do. With respect to Italy, as it will be impossible with one effort to unite her so as to form a single power, subject to uniform laws, I will begin by making her French. All these little States will insensibly become accustomed to the same laws, and when manners shall be assimilated and enmities extinguished, then there will be an Italy, and I will give her independence. But for that I must have twenty years, and who can count on the future? Bourrienne, I feel pleasure in telling you all this. It was locked up in my mind. With you I think aloud." <sup>10</sup>

TO JEROME NAPOLEON, KING OF WESTPHALIA

Paris, 4th January 1808.

I have your letter of December 15th with regard to General Lagrange. I disapprove of your conduct. General Lagrange is not your subject; he is not accountable to you for what he has done in his administration, and you therefore have no right to disgrace him. He has served me in Egypt; he has fought several campaigns under me in Italy; he might have rendered me services of such a nature that I alone could judge what ought to be done. And, besides, General Lagrange was authorized to take the Elector's horses; he had a right to do it. You committed an injustice when you had them brought back to your stables. You should have contented yourself with taking information as to the money he had received, and reporting to me. What pleasure can the dishonouring of the military uniform be to you? It was that guard which conquered your kingdom, and gave me the throne, on which I sit. Your conduct shows very little consideration, and that is what distresses me most. But you must impute yourself with the conviction that you have no jurisdiction whatever over the Frenchmen I send to you, and that you are only to inform me as to what they may do. I reserve myself the right of taking whatever step with regard to them conduces to my interest, and agrees with my experience. If this course of conduct does not suit you, send me back the Frenchmen who are with you, and govern with Germans.<sup>11</sup>

TO JEROME NAPOLEON, KING OF WESTPHALIA

Paris, 6th March 1808

I have read the letter you are writing to Beugnot I thought I had told you you might keep Beugnot and Simeon as long as you needed them, but the idea of making them swear allegiance is ridiculous None but thoughtless Frenchmen, who had not concerned themselves about the result of such a step, can have taken the oath, and I pardon them for I believe their heart was not in it If the oath is one of fidelity to your person, that is included in the allegiance every Frenchman has sworn to me If it is the oath of a Westphalian subject, you ask a thing which the meanest drummer in my army would not do Besides, the Senators and Councillors of State who are employed at Naples have taken no oath The Frenchmen employed in the King's household have sworn allegiance to him as a French Prince And even if these reasons did not suffice, it is not when you are surrounded by foes and strangers, that renounce their own country, and make themselves criminals I have met few men with so little circumspection as you You are perfectly ignorant, and you follow nothing but your own fancy Reason decides nothing in your case, everything is ruled by impetuosity and passion I do not desire to have any correspondence with you, beyond what is indispensable as regards Foreign Courts, because they make you dance steps, and expose your want of harmony before the eyes of Europe, which I am not inclined to permit you to do As for your household and financial affairs, I have already told you, and now tell you again, that nothing you do accords my opinion and experience, and that your mode of action will bring you little success But you would oblige me by

two soldiers to the mob I intended to degrade him before the whole army, when I arrived at Madrid, and you have done very wrong to forgive him Your proclamation has me blush If it was drawn up by Belliard, you will let him know my displeasure To bring order into the city of Madrid, 3000 men and 10 pieces of artillery, are needed Three orders of the day like yours would demoralize an army<sup>13</sup>

TO M DE LAVALLETTE, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE  
POSTAL SERVICE

Chamartin, 6th December 1808

Your work is badly done You send me nothing but fools, and my express from Bayonne has just been captured, because the Postmaster at Bayonne gave the courier two portmanteaux instead of one, and two bottles of wine as well The courier has saved the portmanteau with the wine, and has allowed that containing Mons de Champagny's correspondence to be taken I have just dismissed the Postmaster Let all the other Postmasters know of his dismissal Long ago I gave orders that no express was to carry more than twenty five pounds weight The Spanish express must not carry any letters but mine, and no one is to make up the packets but Mons Meneval Thus had been regularly done hitherto Mons Meneval has the key, and the letters should only be sent when I think fit, instead of which it frequently happens that, contrary to my intention, other people have news from Paris before me<sup>14</sup>

#### PROCLAMATION

"SPANIARDS! after long agony your nation is on the verge of dissolution I have witnessed your sufferings, and bring you a remedy I do not wish to reign over your land,

but I desire to acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is decrepit; I will renew its youth. I will improve your institutions, and, if you will second me, enable you to enjoy the benefits of a reform without violence, disorder, or convulsion. Spaniards! I have convoked a general assembly of delegates from the provinces and the cities. I desire to assure myself, personally, of your wants and your wishes; I will then place your glorious crown upon the head of another self, promising you a constitution which reconciles the gentle and salutary authority of the sovereign with the liberty and privileges of the people; for I desire that your latest children shall preserve my memory, and say, He was the regenerator of our country."<sup>15</sup>

TO JEROME NAPOLEON, KING OF WESTPHALIA

Paris, 11th February 1809.

I am astonished at your sending me General Morio, a sort of madman, whom I despise; you will permit me to refuse to receive him.

As for the condition of your Treasury and your Administration, I have nothing to do with either of them. I am aware that both are in a very bad way. This is a consequence of the measures you have taken, and the luxury in which you live. All your actions bear the stamp of folly. Why should you confer baronies on men who have done nothing? Why display a luxury so out of harmony with the country, and which, were it only for the discredit it casts upon your administration, would be a calamity to Westphalia?

Keep your engagements with me, and recollect that no

man ever took such engagements without fulfilling them. And further, never question the great interest I take in you.

TO JEROME NAPOLEON, KING OF WESTPHALIA

Burghausen, 29th April 1809.

I have your letter of the 22nd; Mons. Otto sends me one dated the 23rd. I approve of your having kept the Berg Regiment. I had sent it orders to come, but you can keep it, if you need it. You can send for the division which is at Hamburg, although it consists of Dutch troops. I am giving Kellerman orders to proceed to Mayence, where he may be in a position to give you such help as circumstances, and his means will permit.

Your Kingdom has no police, no finances, and no organization. It is not with foolish display that the foundations of monarchies are laid. What is happening to you now, I fully expected. I hope it will teach you a lesson. Give yourself ways and habits suited to those of the country you govern. Thus you will win over the inhabitants, by gaining their esteem, which is always governed by their opinion of your manner of life, and by simplicity of demeanour. However, I feel this is not the moment to preach to you. Make severe examples.<sup>16</sup>

TO M. DE CHAMPAGNY, DUC DE CADORE, MINISTER FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Paris, 24th January 1810.

I have asked you for a report on American affairs. It is necessary, before all things, that you should write to America in cipher, to ask that another Minister may be sent to Paris, and to bring formal complaint against this one, who

is perfectly useless. Meanwhile, until I can send a new Minister to America, send a secondary agent, who can act as Secretary of Legation. He will sail on an American schooner and will carry your dispatches; he will also be the bearer of the American Minister's letter about the sequestration of St. Sebastian, and your reply, in which you will once more develop my ideas on that subject. All this should be done without delay.<sup>17</sup>

TO LOUIS NAPOLEON, KING OF HOLLAND

Ostend, 20th May, 1810.

I have your letter of 16th May. In our mutual position, we should always speak frankly. You know I have frequently read documents of yours, which were not written with the intention of my seeing them. I know all your most secret arrangements, and nothing you tell me, in a contradictory sense, will be of any avail. You need not speak of your feelings, nor of your childhood. Experience has taught me the truth about all that. Holland is in an unpleasant position—that I know. I can quite conceive your desiring to get out of it. But I am surprised you should appeal to me for assistance. It is not I who can do anything in the matter; it is you, and you only. When you so behave as to convince the Dutch that you act on my inspiration, that every step and every feeling of yours agrees with mine, then you will be loved and esteemed, and you will acquire the credit necessary for the re-constitution of Holland.

If then the example you had under your eyes at Paris, if your knowledge of my character—which is to go straight towards my object, without being stopped by any consideration—have not altered nor enlightened you, what can I do?

If you had been what you should, I should take as much



interest in Holland as in France, and the prosperity of that country would be as near my heart as that of France. Most assuredly I believed myself, when I set you on the throne of Holland, to be filling it with a French citizen, as devoted to the greatness of France, and the interests of the mother country, as I was myself. If you had followed up this plan of conduct, you would now be reigning over six millions of subjects. I should have made the throne of Holland, a pedestal, on which I would have set Hamburg, Osnabruck, and a part of Northern Germany. This would have been the nucleus of a nation which should have thrown the German mind still further out of its orbit, and that is the first object of my policy. But far from doing this, you have followed a diametrically opposite course, and I have been obliged to forbid your presence in France, and to take possession of part of your country.

You never say a word in Council, you never confide anything to any one, that is not known and turned against you, and that does not stultify you. For, to the Dutch mind, you are nothing but a Frenchman who has only been amongst them for four years. All they see in you, is me and the advantage of being protected from the thieves and inferior agitators who have worried them, ever since the Conquest. The moment you prove yourself a bad Frenchman, you become less to them, than a Prince of Orange to whose family they owe their rank as a nation, and a long continuance of prosperity and glory. It is clear, to the Dutch mind, that your estrangement from France has cost them what they would not have lost under Schimmelpenninck, nor under a Prince of Orange. *Before all things, be a Frenchman, and the Emperor's brother, and then, you may be sure, you are in the path of the true interests of Holland.* But why has all this happened? Fate is against you, and you are incor-

rigible. Already you would fain dismiss the few Frenchmen remaining with you. Neither counsel, nor advice, nor affection, should be bestowed on you—nothing but threats and force. What is the meaning of these prayers, and mysterious fasts, you have ordered? Louis, you have no desire to reign for long! Your every action reveals your inmost sentiments, even more clearly than your private letters. Harken to a wiser man than yourself: return from the path on to which you have strayed! Be thoroughly and heartily French, otherwise your subjects will drive you out, and you will quit Holland,—the laughing-stock of the Dutch, and the object of their pity. Good sense and policy are necessary to the government of States,—not sour unhealthy bile.<sup>13</sup>

TO PRINCE LEBRUN, GRAND TREASURER OF THE EMPIRE,  
THE EMPEROR'S LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN HOLLAND

Paris, 25th September 1810.

You speak of the complaints of the inhabitants of Amsterdam; of their alarm and discontent. Do these Dutchmen take me for their Grand Pensionary Barnevelt? I do not understand such language. I shall do what is best for the good of my Empire, and the clamour of the madmen who will insist on knowing what is right better than I do, only fills me with scorn. Really, one would fancy you had never known me! At all events, you must have swiftly forgotten me! I have not undertaken the government of Holland to consult the populace of Amsterdam, and do as other people like. The French nation has been willing, at various times, to put its trust in me. Who knows it better than you? I hope the Dutch will be good enough to show me the same respect. If any one speaks in a different tone before you,

you must use language which befits my Lieutenant-General. The Emperor is doing that which is best for the good of his Empire, and whatever he plans, he sets his whole soul upon. The silly talk you credit seems all the more pitiable to me, because I spend my time, here, amongst the most enlightened men in the country, and I consult no interests but theirs. Let this, then, be the last occasion on which such remarks are heard in your presence.<sup>19</sup>

TO PRINCE CAMBACERES, GRAND CHANCELLOR OF THE EMPIRE

Dresden, 18th June 1813.

The Minister of Police, in his reports (with which, generally speaking, I am very well satisfied, owing to the many details they contain, and the frequent proofs of zeal they furnish), seems to desire to incline me to peace. This can have no result, and it wounds me, because it gives rise to the supposition that I am not peacefully inclined. I desire peace, but not a peace which would force me to take up arms again within three months, and would dishonor me. I know my own financial position, and the condition of the Empire, better than he does, and therefore he has nothing to say to me on the subject. Make him aware of the impropriety of his behaviour. I am no blusterer, I do not make a trade of war, and no one is more pacific than I am. But my decision on this subject will be ruled solely by my desire that it may last, and by the general situation of my Empire.<sup>20</sup>

ADDRESS MADE IN HOLLAND TO THE DUTCH ASSEMBLY

Assuming a tone of gaiety, he said:—"I have done every thing in my power to please you. Have I not sent you as a Governor precisely the man who suits you—the good

and pacific Lebrun. You condole with him, he condoles with you: you bewail your distresses together. What more could I do for you?" At these words the assembly burst into a loud fit of laughter. The Emperor had secured the good graces of the multitude.—"However," said he, "let us hope that the present state of things will not last long. Believe me, I am as anxious for a change as you can be. Every man of discernment among you must be aware that it is neither my wish, nor for my interest, that matters should remain as they now are."<sup>21</sup>

"For the sake of the *stability* of the government, it is necessary that the people should have a share in the elections!"

"I was not guilty of the folly," said he, "of desiring to bend events to suit my system; but, on the contrary, I bent my system so as to adapt it to events."

"I desire that the state shall be governed by law, and that whatever must necessarily be done without law shall be legalized by the intervention of a constituted body."<sup>22</sup>

#### CRITICISM OF THE INSTITUTE

It so happened that one of the members of the Institute who had taken a lively part in the discussion, and voted for the reading of the speech, was also one of the great officers of the Emperor's household; and the Emperor took advantage of this circumstance to manifest his opinion, by addressing him in the following manner at one of his *couchers*:—"How long is it, sir," said he, with the utmost severity, "since the Institute has presumed to assume the character of a political assembly? the province of the Institute is to

produce poetry and to censure faults of language, let it beware how it forsakes the domain of literature, or I shall take measures to bring it back within its limits. And is it possible that you, sir, have sanctioned such an intemperate harangue by your approbation? If M. de Chateaubriand is insane, or disposed to malevolence, a madhouse may cure him, or a punishment correct him, yet it may be that the opinions he has pronounced are conscientiously his own, and he is not obliged to surrender them to my policy, which is unknown to him, but with you the case is totally different—you are constantly near my person, you are acquainted with all my acts, you know my will, there may be an excuse in M. de Chateaubriand's favour, there *can* be none in yours. Sir, I hold you guilty, I consider your conduct as criminal: it tends to bring us back to the days of disorder and confusion, anarchy and bloodshed. Are we then banditti? and am I but an usurper? Sir, I did not ascend the throne by hurling another from it, I found the crown, it had fallen; I snatched it up, and the nation placed it on my head: respect the nation's act. To submit facts that have so recently occurred to public discussion in the present circumstances, is to court fresh convulsions, and become an enemy to the public tranquillity. The restoration of monarchy is veiled in mystery, and must remain so, wherefore then, I pray, this new proposed proscription of conventionals and regicides? Why are subjects of so delicate a nature again brought to light? To God alone it must belong to pronounce upon what is no longer within the reach of the judgment of men! Are you to be more scrupulous than the Empress? her interests are as dear as yours can be in this question, and much more direct, yet she has asked no questions, she has made no enquiries; take example from her moderation.

"Have I then lost the fruit of all my care? have all my

efforts been of so little avail, that as soon as my presence no longer restrains you, you are quite ready to bathe once more in each other's blood?" And, in speaking thus, he paced the room with rapid strides, and striking his forehead with his hand, exclaimed: "Alas! poor France, long yet must thou need the guardian's care.

"I have done all in my power," continued he, "to quell all your dissensions; to unite all parties has been the constant object of my solicitude. I have made all meet under the same roof, sit at the same board, and drink of the same cup. I have a right to expect that you will second my endeavors.

"Since I have taken the reins of government, have I ever enquired into the lives, actions, opinions, or writings of any one?—Imitate my forbearance.

"I have never had but one aim, never asked but this one question; will you sincerely assist me in promoting the true interest of France? and all those who have answered affirmatively have been placed by me in a straight road, cased in rock, and without issue on either side, through which I have urged them on to the other extremity, where my finger pointed to the honour, the glory, and the splendour of France."

This reprimand was so severe, that the person to whom it was addressed, a man of honour, and delicate feelings, determined upon asking an audience the next day, in order to tender his resignation. He was admitted to the presence of the Emperor, who immediately said to him, "My dear sir, you are come on account of the conversation of yesterday; you felt hurt on the occasion, and I have felt no less so; but it was a piece of advice which I thought it right to give to more than one person; if it has the desired effect of producing some public good, we must not either of us regret the circumstance; think no more about it." And he spoke of something else.<sup>23</sup>

"THERE CAN be no stable political state," said the Emperor, "if there be not a corps of instruction with settled principles. The creation of such a body will, on the contrary, fortify civil order."

"FINANCES founded upon a good system of agriculture never fail", these were the words of the First Consul. Facts have proved that he was right <sup>24</sup>

THE FOLLOWING anecdote has reference to other subjects, partly grave and partly humorous. One day the Counsellor of State, General Gassendi, taking part in the discussion of the moment, dwelt much upon the doctrines of economists. The Emperor, who was much attached to his old artillery comrade, stopped him, saying "My dear General, where did you gain all this knowledge? Where did you imbibe these principles?" Gassendi, who very seldom spoke in the Council, after defending himself in the best way he could, finding himself driven into his last entrenchments, replied that he had, after all, borrowed his opinions from Napoleon himself. "How?" exclaimed the Emperor, with warmth, "What do you say? Is it possible? From me, who have always thought that if there existed a monarchy of granite, the chimeras of political economists, would reduce it to powder!" And after some other remarks partly ironical, and partly serious, he concluded,—"Go, General! you must have fallen asleep in your office, and have dreamed all this." Gassendi, who was rather irascible, replied, "Oh! as for falling asleep in our offices, Sir, I defy any one to do that with you, you plague us too much for that." All the Council burst into a fit of laughter, and the Emperor laughed louder than any one <sup>25</sup>

THIS PLAN being coldly received, the Emperor addressed one of those who opposed it in his usual manner, urging him to discuss the question freely, and state his opinion without reserve. "Sire," answered M. Malouet, "my objection is, that I fear the other classes of the nation will feel themselves aggrieved in seeing the army preferred to them." "Sir," replied the Emperor warmly, "you make a distinction which does not exist; the army no longer forms a separate class of the nation. In the situation in which we are now placed, no member of the state is exempt from being a soldier; to follow a military career is no longer a matter of choice; it is one of necessity. The greatest number of those who are engaged in that career have been compelled to abandon their own profession against their will, it is therefore but justice that they should receive some kind of a compensation for it." "But," observes again the member who opposed the plan, "will it not be inferred that your majesty intends that in future almost all vacant situations shall be given to soldiers?"—"And such is indeed my intention," said the Emperor; "Sir, the only question is, whether I have the right to do so, and whether I thereby commit an act of injustice? Now the constitution gives me the nomination to all places, and I think it a principle of strict equity, that those who have suffered most have the greatest claims to be indemnified." Then raising his voice, he added, "Gentlemen, war is not a profession of ease and comfort; quietly seated on your benches here you know it only by reading our bulletins, or by hearing of our triumphs—you know nothing of our nightly watches, our forced marches, the sufferings and privations of every kind to which we are exposed: but I do know them, because I witness them, and sometimes share in them." <sup>26</sup>



"MY OBJECT is not to prevent this or that merchant from failing, the resources of the State would not suffice for that, but to prevent a branch of manufacture from perishing. My object is to supply the place of sales by a temporary loan. I wish to found a stable and permanent establishment, to endow it with a capital of forty or fifty millions, so that, in times of cessation of demand, and stagnation, the position of the manufacturer shall be less severe."

The Emperor raised up manufacturing industry, by causing the sciences to co operate in its improvement. "If I had had sufficient time," said he, "soon there would have been no crafts in France. The arts would have taken their place."

"A CONSTITUTION," Napoleon has said, "is the work of time, one cannot provide in it too broad a power of amendment."<sup>27</sup>

THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR had demanded an audience of the First Consul, and to hold conferences with him personally. The First Consul, who was himself fond of treating affairs directly, willingly assented. "But this proved for me," said the Emperor, "a lesson which altered my method forever. From this moment I never treated officially, of political affairs, but through the intervention of my minister for Foreign Affairs. He at any rate could give a positive and formal denial, which the sovereign could not do."<sup>28</sup>

"FOREIGN commerce is made for the two other branches, (agriculture and manufactures)—they are not made for it. The interests of these three essential bases are divergent, often opposite. I have always treated them with reference to their natural rank."

polite, and yet held firmly to  
ing. I shall soon give you  
possibly give you now unless  
read this letter, peace with  
cluded, and Jerome acknowledged  
a population of three million  
alone.

Adieu dear; I love you, and  
cheerful and contented.<sup>82</sup>

"It is said that a sinking-fund  
for borrowing; that may be  
*for France to found her financial*  
a "*caisse de service*," which is  
duty of effecting with rapidity  
receipts to the expenditures in  
accounts current with the re-

"To RULE by means of a  
or later in dependence upon  
snare; I am national. I have  
capacity and the will to maintain  
why I have composed my Code  
who were called moderate, or  
Roederer, Regnier, and Roussin  
Devaines and Dufresnes; and  
Real, and Berlier. I love the

ON ONE OCCASION when he  
levying of a new tax, the whole  
and oppressive: "Your Majesty,  
senator, without hesitation, "

excess on the part of the strongest Power may be closely allied with its dissolution Your plan is intolerable and vexatious those who have advised you to adopt it are not your friends, and if the Senate does its duty, your Majesty may expect that it will be thrown out "

Four persons who were present at this scene were astonished and trembled for the senator, whom they believed lost The Emperor even looked at him for some time head to foot, and seemed seeking for an answer, at length he said to him, "You are, for once, too forward and if I did not know the love you bear your country, you should sleep to night at Vincennes "

"Your Majesty would then act unjustly," responded L—

"I doubt that very much," said Napoleon, and then addressed himself to the persons present "I appeal to you, gentlemen, but let the matter rest a worthy man, when he commits an error, deserves to be excused "34

#### ANNOUNCEMENT OF ELEVATION TO THE THRONE

"Madame," said he, in the presence of his two brothers and of four important dignitaries, ' the wish of a great nation calls your husband to the first throne in the world The affection which I bear to you, and an intimate knowledge of your truly royal qualities, have determined me to assimilate you with myself in all the honours of supreme rank The pope is now about to give you the imposition of hands, and to consecrate your brow with a royal diadem

"My projects are vast, and the future prosperity of my people will be almost incredible I would refuse the throne, notwithstanding the splendour with which it will surround me, if I were not certain of seeing the French the greatest nation, not only of past and present times, but also of future ages This hope has metamorphosed my nature and en

larged my soul. My ambition has no limits, and my imagination has already overleaped the bounds of the known world.

"How sweet it will be to me, madame, to see the companion and sharer of my destinies rise to the level of my projects! I will not impose upon you any rules as to the part you have to perform; I even now regard you as the model upon which shall be formed all the domestic virtues of my family, which ought, as well as you, to be worthy of me. Inculcate, madame, and impress this expression of my will upon the hearts of your own children, and also of my sisters. Nothing, I repeat, ought to come short of my glorious intentions!"

During the discourse, the Empress seemed lost in deep reflection. The boldness of the expressions and the gigantic extent of the projects alarmed her. A single sentence formed her answer, but that sentence was admirable for its laconic propriety: "I shall be," said Josephine, "all that I ought to be, as wife, queen, and mother."<sup>35</sup>

\* \* \* The Empress never permitted herself to make the least complaint, to utter a single reproach. She only wrote the following letter to her husband:—

"If your Majesty has definitely resolved to deprive me of the title of your wife, the only one of which I ever was proud, and in which I placed my whole happiness; if your glory, if the prosperity of the State, depend absolutely upon this great sacrifice, I am ready to make it. It is not the honours with which you have surrounded me that I regret; one thing alone rends my heart, that I shall no longer be your wife, shall no longer be your cherished friend, the faithful depositary of all your cares and sorrows, that I shall no longer be able to soothe and console you. Who

will replace me? Grant, O Heaven! that this young Princess may give my husband, whom for the last time I may call so, what he has so long desired—an heir. Grant that, as a happy wife and tender mother, she may lose herself in the interests of her husband, as I have always endeavoured to do.

“Your Majesty may immediately give orders for the act to be drawn up which is to break the ties of nature, and place between you and me the barriers of indifference.

JOSEPHINE.”

The Emperor was visibly much affected with this letter, but the emotion was fleeting. C— was there; Napoleon only said to him, “I confess that my wife is enough to make me regret that I am not a Sultan.”<sup>36</sup>

AN AUSTRIAN MINISTER was indiscreet enough to say, in the presence of some one who was sold to the Court of France—“Napoleon will no longer seek to pick quarrels with us; he has but one eagle, and we have two.”

This miserable joke, to which no other Sovereign would have paid any attention, put Napoleon in a rage. He wrote with his own hand to the insolent Minister, as he called him—“When I had no eagle, I swept you all before me; I have one now, and though he is just newly born, woe to the imprudent eagles who shall force him to quit his eyrie; he will devour them.” Here I am compelled to do justice to a courtier who cannot be charged with having often done well. M— had the noble courage to represent to the monarch that such an answer was unworthy of his rank. “How long,” said he, “has a Sovereign condescended to write to the insolent subjects of a foreign Power? Had it been the Emperor of Austria himself who uttered such a sentiment, an explanation with him might have come without impro-

priety from your own hand. He alone is worthy of such an honour." No one could possibly have represented the matter more adroitly. To arouse the *amour propre* of Napoleon, in order to induce him to do what was right, was the policy of a consummate courtier. "I yield to your reasons," said the Emperor, tearing the paper, "but you must acknowledge that the note was strongly expressed."<sup>37</sup>

TO PRINCE CAMBACERES, GRAND CHANCELLOR OF THE EMPIRE

Mayence, 6th November 1813.

I send you an unsealed letter to Madame\*; you will read it, and seal it, and you will confer with Madame about it.

If Louis comes as a French Prince, he will write me to that effect, and as soon as you have his letter, he can be presented to the Empress, and can enjoy the income of his appanage.

But if Madame can do nothing with him, and he is only coming to disturb my peace, and put forward the wild plan suggested to him by Austria, and by the enemies of France, I expect Madame, who, up till now, has never done me any service with her sons, will induce him to depart, and let me hear no more of him. If, forty-eight hours after this present attempt, Louis is still in Paris, and has not affirmed that he comes as a French Prince, you will proceed to his residence, with the Vice-Grand Elector, the President of the Senate, the Chief Judge, and the Secretary of the Imperial family, and you will call upon him to acknowledge the laws of the Empire, to remain in France as a French Prince, and to recognize the Decree which joins Holland to France. If he refuses, a formal report will be drawn up, and immedi-

\* Napoleon's mother.

ately afterwards, he will be arrested, and taken, incognito, to the Castle of Compiègne.

Hold a small council, with the Prince of Benevento, the President of the Senate, the Chief Judge, and Count Regnaud. Show them the King's letter to me, mine to Madame, and this present letter. It is horrible that he should choose this moment to come and insult me, and tear my heart, by forcing me to act severely. But it is my fate to see myself perpetually betrayed by the frightful ingratitude of the men on whom I have showered most benefits, and more especially by this one, for whose education I denied myself everything, even absolute necessities, when I was only twenty. You know that the libels he published against me were printed and underlined by Austria, after the declaration of war, as though to blacken my character, and increase the enmity which broke out in all quarters.

It is my most positive intention, as soon as Louis shall have declared that he does not acknowledge the Decree, and has thus placed himself in rebellion against the laws of the State, to declare he has forfeited all his rights to the throne. You understand that I do not even insist on this declaration of the gratitude of Holland, if he will make your official inquiry unnecessary, and will assert, in a letter written to me, that he comes as a French Prince, to rally round the throne, and offer his right arm to defend his country.<sup>38</sup>

#### TO KING JOSEPH

Paris, 7th January 1814.

I have your letter. It is too complex in its nature to suit my present position. Here is the question, in a sentence: France is invaded, all Europe has taken up arms against

France, and more especially against me. I do not need your resignation, because I do not want Spain for myself, nor do I want it at my disposal; but neither will I concern myself with the affairs of that country, except for the purpose of obtaining peace there, and making my army available for use.

What do you mean to do? Do you desire to rally to the throne as a French Prince? You have my affection, and your appanage, and you will be my subject, as a Prince of the Blood. In that case, you must do as I do, speak out clearly, write me a plain letter, which I can have printed, receive all authority from me, and prove your zeal for me and for the King of Rome, and your friendly feeling for the Empress's Regency.

Is this impossible to you? Have you not sufficient good sense to do it? Then you must retire to some country-house, forty leagues from Paris, and live there in obscurity. If I live, you will dwell there in peace. If I die, you will be killed or arrested. You will be useless to me, to the family, to your daughters, to France; but you will do me no harm, and cause me no inconvenience. Choose promptly, and make up your mind. All feelings of sentiment or enmity are vain, and out of season.<sup>39</sup>

IN THE EVENING he was compelled by lassitude to take some repose. He shut himself up in his cabinet, and for the first time since his return\* we were alone. He sat close to the fire-place, with his feet upon the fender, and his arms crossed—He was in an excellent humor. He said, jokingly,

“You must be astonished, Mr. Diplomatist.”†

“Yes, Sire.”

\* From Elba.

† Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza.



"I am concerned for your Excellency; my poor Caulincourt, you see ambassadors cost a good deal of money, and do very little good. It is better for a sovereign to manage his affairs himself"; and he rubbed his hands together in a bantering manner.

I replied, laughing, "Your method, sire, is more expeditious."<sup>40</sup>

"ALL that I have done for the prosperity of France, I have had to accomplish in the intervals of battles. But you, who accuse me, what have you done during twenty-four years of profound peace?"<sup>41</sup>

HE THEN ORDERED the reading of a decree, the purport of which was that two-fifths of the Legislative Body had already gone beyond their power; that on the 1st of January another fifth would be in the same situation, and that composed of members who had no right to be in it; that, in consideration of these circumstances, it was, from that moment, prorogued and adjourned, until fresh elections should be made.

After the reading of this document, the Emperor continued: "Such is the decree which I issue; and were I assured that it would bring the people of Paris in a crowd to the Tuileries to murder me this very day, I would still issue it; for such is my duty. When the people of France placed their destinies in my hands, I took into consideration the laws by which I was to govern them: had I thought those laws insufficient, I should not have accepted them. I am not a Louis XVI. Daily vacillations must not be expected from me. Though I have become Emperor, I have not ceased to be a citizen. If anarchy were to resume her sway, I would abdicate and mingle with the crowd to enjoy my share

of the sovereignty, rather than remain at the head of a system in which I should only compromise all, without being able to protect any one. Besides," concluded he, "my determination is conformable to the law; and if every one here will do his duty this day, I shall be invincible behind the shelter of the law as well as before the enemy."<sup>42</sup>

"I AM well aware," said Napoleon, "of the influence which chance usurps over political determinations; and it is the knowledge of that circumstance which has always kept me free from prejudice, and rendered me very indulgent with regard to the part adopted by individuals in our political convulsions. To be a good Frenchman, or to wish to become so, was all that I look for in any one."<sup>43</sup>

"IT WAS fortunate for England that such a man (Cromwell) took upon himself the responsibility of performing unavoidable acts of violence, because order in the place of anarchy was to come from usurpation, and order was necessary. Everywhere, in all times, necessities have dictated the agreements or compacts called principles, and principles are always silent in the presence of necessities. There was necessity for security, for repose, for a grandeur which should impose upon the foreign enemies of the Revolution, and over-shadow commercial interests hostile to the interests of England. There was necessity for an administration which comprehended all parties and committed itself to none; which thoroughly understood all the ideas of the epoch, without making exclusive profession of any of them; which made use of the army without following its lead. Cromwell was right against the royalists, because they were enemies of the country; against the Presbyterians, because they were intolerant, and did not understand the Revolution; against

the levellers, because they demanded the impossible, finally, against the fanatical republicans, because they did not comprehend public opinion" <sup>44</sup>

IT IS, HOWEVER, absolutely false that Napoleon, on his part, at a subsequent period, made overtures or propositions to the Princes touching the cession of their rights, or their renunciation of the crown, though such statements have been made in some pompous declarations, profusely circulated through Europe—"How was such a thing possible?" said the Emperor,—“I, who could only reign by the very principle which excluded them—that of the sovereignty of the people—how could I have sought to possess through them rights which were proscribed in their persons? That would have been too palpable, too ridiculous, it would have ruined me forever in public opinion. The fact is, that neither directly or indirectly, at home or abroad, did I ever do any thing of the kind, and this will, no doubt, in the course of time, be the opinion of all persons of judgment, who allow me to have been neither a fool nor a madman” <sup>45</sup>

THE EMPEROR asked me whether I thought the discussion perfectly free in the Council of State, or whether his presence did not impose a restraint on the deliberations? I reminded him of a very long debate, during which he had remained throughout singular in his opinion, and had at last been obliged to yield. He immediately recollected the circumstances. “Oh, yes,” said he, “that must have been in the case of a woman of Amsterdam, who had been tried for her life and acquitted three several times by the Imperial Courts, but against whom a fresh trial was demanded in the Court of Cassation.” The Emperor hoped that this happy occurrence of the law might have exhausted its severity in

favour of the prisoner; that this lucky fatality of circumstances might have turned to her advantage. It was urged in reply, that he possessed the beneficent power of bestowing pardon; but that the law was inflexible, and must take its course. The debate was a very long one. M. Muraire spoke a great deal, and very much to the point; he persuaded every one except the Emperor, who still remained singular in his opinion, and at length yielded with these remarkable words:—"Gentlemen, the decision goes by the majority here, I remain single, and must yield; but I declare, in my conscience, that I yield only to forms. You have reduced me to silence, but by no means convinced me."

So little was the nature of the Council of State understood by the people in general, that it was believed no one dared utter a word in that assembly in opposition to the Emperor's opinion. Thus I very much surprised many persons, when I related the fact, that one day, during a very animated debate, the Emperor, having been interrupted three times in giving his opinion, turned towards the individual who had rather rudely cut him short, and said in a sharp tone: "I have not yet done; I beg you will allow me to continue. I believe every one here has a right to deliver his opinion." The smartness of this reply notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, excited a general laugh, in which the Emperor himself joined.

"Yet," said I to him, "the speakers evidently sought to discover what might be your Majesty's opinion: they seemed to congratulate themselves when their views coincided with yours, and to be embarrassed on finding themselves maintaining opposite sentiments. You are accused, too, of laying snares for us, in order to discover our real opinion." However, when the question was once started, self-love and the warmth of the argument contributed, along with the free-

dom of discussion which the Emperor encouraged, to induce every one to maintain his own opinion. "I do not mind being contradicted," said the Emperor; "I seek to be informed." "Speak boldly," he would repeat; whenever the speaker expressed himself equivocally, or the subject was a delicate one; "tell me all that you think; we are alone here; we are all *en famille*."<sup>46</sup>

I HAVE BEEN informed that under the Consulate, or at the commencement of the Empire, the Emperor opposed an opinion of one of the members, and through the warmth and obstinacy of the latter, the affair at length amounted to a personal misunderstanding. Napoleon commanded his temper, and was silent; but a few days after, seeing his antagonist at one of the public audiences, he said to him in a half-earnest manner, "You are extremely obstinate; and what if I were equally so!—At all events you are in the wrong to put power to the trial! You should not be unmindful of human weakness!"

On another occasion, he said in private to one of the members who had likewise driven him to the utmost extreme, "You must take a little more care to manage my temper. You were lately very much out: you obliged me to have recourse to scratching my forehead. That is a very ominous sign with me: you had better not urge me so far for the future."<sup>47</sup>

"It is certain," said he, "that the Tribune was absolutely useless, while it cost nearly half a million; I therefore suppressed it. I was well aware that an outcry would be raised against the violation of the law; but I was strong: I possessed the full confidence of the people, and I considered myself a reformer. This at least is certain, that I did all

for the best. I should, on the contrary, have created the Tribune, had I been hypocritical or evil-disposed; for, who can doubt that it would have adopted and sanctioned when necessary, my views and intentions? But that was what I never sought after in the whole course of my administration. I never purchased any vote or decision by promises, money, or places! and if I distributed favours to ministers, counsellors of state, and legislators, it was because there were things to give away, and it was natural and even just that they should be dealt out among those whose avocations brought them in contact with me."<sup>48</sup>

"To AFFORD an idea of the sympathy and good will with which the different members of the Austrian family were taught to regard me," said the Emperor, "it is sufficient to mention that one of the young Archdukes frequently burned his dolls, which he called *roasting Napoleon*. He afterwards declared he would not roast me any more, for he loved me very much, because I had given his sister Louisa plenty of money to buy him playthings."<sup>49</sup>

"PUBLIC OPINION," said the Emperor, on another occasion, when conversing on another subject, "is an invisible and mysterious power which it is impossible to resist: nothing is more unsteady, more vague, or more powerful; and capricious as it may be, it is, nevertheless, just and reasonable more than is supposed. On becoming Provisional Consul, the first act of my administration was the banishment of fifty anarchists. Public opinion, which had at first been furiously hostile to them, suddenly turned in their favour, and I was forced to retract. But some time afterwards, these same anarchists, having shewn a disposition to engage in plots, were again assailed by that very public opinion,

which had now returned to support me Thus, through the errors that were committed at the time of the restoration, popularity was secured to the regicides, who but a moment before had been proscribed by the great mass of the nation "

"It belonged to me," continued the Emperor, 'to shed a lustre over the memory of Louis XVI in France, and to purify the nation of the crimes with which he had been sullied by frantic acts and unfortunate fatalities The Bourbons, being of the royal family, and coming from abroad, merely avenged their own private cause, and augmented the national opprobrium I, on the contrary, being one of the people, should have raised the character of the nation, by banishing from society, in her name, those whose crimes had disgraced her This was my intention, but I proceeded prudently in the fulfilment of it The three expiatory altars at St Denis were but a prelude to my design The Temple of Glory, on the site of the Magdelaine, was to have been devoted to this object with still greater solemnity There, near the tomb and over the very bones of the political victims of our revolution, human monuments and religious ceremonies would have consecrated their memory in the name of the French people This is a secret that was not known to above ten individuals though it would have been necessary to communicate a hint of the design to those who might have been intrusted with the arrangement of the edifice I should not have executed my scheme in less than ten years, but what precautions had I not adopted, how carefully had I smoothed every difficulty, and removed every obstruction! All would have applauded my design, and no one would have suffered from it So much depends on circumstances and forms," added he, "that in my reign, Carnot would not have dared to write a memorial, boasting of the

death of the King, though he did so under the Bourbons. I should have leagued with public opinion in punishing him; while public opinion sided with him in rendering him unassailable."<sup>50</sup>

#### AT ST. HELENA

Toby was very much attached to us; our presence always seemed to fill him with joy. When we entered the garden, he immediately suspended his work, and resting on his spade, gazed on us with an air of satisfaction. He understood not a word of the conversation that passed between the Emperor and myself; but he always seemed to anticipate, with a smile, the first words I translated to him. He called the Emperor the Good Gentleman: this was the only name he ever applied to him, and he knew him by no other.

I have mentioned the above particulars, because our meetings with Toby were always followed by novel, spirited, and characteristic reflections on the part of the Emperor. The versatility of his mind is well known. Whenever he adverted to the poor slave's misfortune, he always took a new view of the subject. I shall content myself with noting down the following remarks:—

"Poor Toby," said he one day, "has been torn from his family, from his native land, and sold to slavery: could any thing be more miserable to himself, or more criminal in others! If this crime be the act of the English captain alone he is doubtless one of the vilest of men; but of it be that of the whole of the crew, it may have been committed by men, perhaps, not so base as might be imagined; for vice is always individual, and scarcely ever collective. Joseph's brethren could not bring themselves to slay him; while Judas, a cool, hypocritical, calculating villian, betrayed his master. A philosopher has affirmed that men are born wicked: it would be both difficult and idle to attempt to discover



whether the assertion be true. This, at least, is certain, that the great mass of society is not wicked; for if the majority were determined to be criminal and to violate the laws, who would have the power to restrain or prevent them? This is the triumph of civilization; for this happy result springs from its bosom, and arises out of its nature. Sentiments are for the most part traditional; we feel them because they were felt by those who preceded us: thus we must look to the development of human reason and faculties for the only key to social order, the only secret of the legislator. Only those who wish to deceive the people and rule them for their own personal advantage would desire to keep them in ignorance; for the more they are enlightened, the more will they feel convinced of the utility of laws, and of the necessity of defending them; and the more steady, happy, and prosperous will society become. If, however, knowledge should ever be dangerous in the multitude, it can only be when the Government, in opposition to the interests of the people, drives them into an unnatural situation, or dooms the lower classes to perish for want. In such a case, knowledge would inspire them with spirit to defend themselves, or to become criminal.

"My Code alone, from its simplicity, has been more beneficial to France than the whole mass of laws which preceded it. My schools and my system of mutual instruction are preparing generations yet unknown. Thus, during my reign, crimes were rapidly diminishing; while, on the contrary, with our neighbours in England, they have been increasing to a frightful degree. This alone is sufficient to enable any one to form a decisive judgment of the respective governments!"

"Look at the United States, where, without apparent force or effort, every thing goes on prosperously; every one is

happy and contented: and this is because the public wishes and interests are in fact the ruling power. Place the same government at variance with the will and interests of its inhabitants, and you would soon see what disturbance, trouble, and confusion, and above all, what an increase of crimes would ensue.

"When I acquired the supreme direction of affairs, it was wished that I might become a Washington. Words cost nothing; and no doubt those who were so ready to express the wish, did so without any knowledge of times, places, persons, or things. Had I been in America, I would willingly have been a Washington, and I should have had little merit in so being; for I do not see how I could reasonably have acted otherwise. But had Washington been in France, exposed to discord within, and invasion from without, I would have defied him to have been what he was in America; at least, he would have been a fool to attempt it, and would only have prolonged the existence of evil. For my own part, I could only have been a crowned Washington. It was only in a congress of kings, in the midst of kings yielding or subdued, that I could become so. Then and there alone, I could successfully display Washington's moderation, disinterestedness, and wisdom. I could not reasonably attain to this but by means of the universal Dictatorship. To this I aspired; can that be thought a crime? Can it be believed, that to resign this authority would have been beyond the power of human nature? Sylla, glutted with crimes, dared to abdicate, pursued by public execration! What motive could have checked me, who would have been followed only by blessings?— But it remained for me to conquer at Moscow! How many will hereafter regret my disasters and my fall! But to require prematurely of me that sacrifice, for which the time had not arrived, was a vulgar absurdity; and for

me to have proclaimed or promised it would have been taken for hypocrisy and quackery that was not my way—I repeat, it remained for me to conquer at Moscow!—”

On another occasion, pausing before Toby, he said “What, after all, is this poor human machine? There is not one whose exterior form is like another, or whose internal organization resembles the rest! And it is by disregarding this truth that we are led to the commission of so many errors! Had Toby been a Brutus, he would have put himself to death, if an Æsop, he would not, perhaps, have been the Governor’s adviser, if an ardent and zealous Christian, he would have borne his chains in the sight of God, and blessed them. As for poor Toby, he endures his misfortunes very quietly, he stoops to his work, and spends his days in innocent tranquillity.” Then, after looking at him for a few moments in silence, he turned away and said “Certainly there is a wide step from poor Toby to a King Richard!—And yet,” continued he, as he walked along, “the crime is not the less atrocious, for this man, after all, had his family, his happiness, and his liberty, and it was a horrible act of cruelty to bring him here to languish in the fetters of his slavery.” Then, suddenly stopping short, he added “But I read in your eyes, that you think he is not the only example of the sort at Saint Helena!” And whether he felt offended at being placed on a parallel with Toby, whether he thought it necessary to raise my spirits, or whatever else might be his reason, he went on with dignity and animation “My dear Las Cases, there is not the least resemblance here if the outrage is of a higher class, the victims also furnish very different resources. We have not been exposed to corporeal sufferings, or if that had been attempted, we have souls to disappoint our tyrants! Our situation may even have its charms! The eyes of the universe are fixed upon us! We

are martyrs in an immortal cause. Millions of human beings are weeping for us: our country sighs, and glory mourns our fate! we here struggle against the oppression of the gods, and the prayers of nations are for us!"—After a pause of a few seconds, he continued:—"Besides, this is not the source of my real sufferings! If I considered only myself, perhaps I should have reason to rejoice! Misfortunes are not without their heroism and their glory! Adversity was wanting to my career! Had I died on the throne, enveloped in the dense atmosphere of my power, I should to many have remained a problem; but now misfortune will enable all to judge of me without disguise."<sup>51</sup>

WE READ, in the papers, an abstract of the memorial, in justification of Marshal Ney.—The Emperor thought it most able. It was not calculated to save his life, and by no means to maintain his honour. The arguments in his defence were, to say the least of them, feeble, and destitute of point. After all he had done, he still protested his devotedness to the King, and his aversion of the Emperor. "An absurd plan," said Napoleon, "but one which has been generally adopted by those who have figured in the present memorable times, and who seem not to have considered that I am so entirely identified with our prodigies, our monuments, our institutions, and all our national acts, that to separate me from them is to do violence to France. The glory of France is to acknowledge me! And, in spite of all the subtlety, evasion, and falsehood, that may be employed to prove the contrary, my character will still be fairly estimated by the French nation. Ney's defence," continued he, "was plainly traced out. He was led on by a general impulse which he thought calculated to ensure the welfare of his country; he had obeyed without premeditation, and without

any treasonable design. A change of fortune had ensued, and he was cited before a tribunal, this was all he had to say with respect to the great events that had taken place. As to the defence of his life, there was nothing to be said on that point, except, indeed, that he was protected by a solemn capitulation, which guaranteed to every individual silence and oblivion with regard to all political acts and opinions. Had he pursued that line of defence, and were his life, nevertheless to be sacrificed, it would be, in the face of the whole world, a violation of the most sacred laws. He would leave behind him the recollection of a glorious character, carrying to the grave the sympathy of every generous mind, and heaping disgrace and reprobation on his murderers. But this enthusiasm is probably beyond his moral strength," said the Emperor. "Ney is the bravest of men, and every other faculty is subordinate to his courage." "

THE EMPEROR was by no means favorable to the system of inspecting correspondence. With regard to the diplomatic information thereby obtained, he did not consider it of sufficient value to counterbalance the expenses incurred, for the establishment cost 600,000 francs. As to the examination of letters of citizens, he regarded that as a measure calculated to do more harm than good. "It is rarely," said he, "that conspiracy is carried on through such channels, and with respect to the individual opinion obtained from epistolary correspondence, they may be more dangerous than useful to a sovereign, particularly among such people as the French. Of whom will not our national volatility and fickleness lead us to complain? The man whom I may have offended at my levee will write to-day that I am a tyrant, though but yesterday he overwhelmed me with praise, and perhaps to-morrow will be ready to lay down his life to

serve me. The violation of the privacy of correspondence may, therefore, cause a prince to lose his best friends, by wrongfully inspiring him with distrust and prejudice towards all; particularly as enemies capable of mischief are always sufficiently artful to avoid exposing themselves to that kind of danger. Some of my ministers were so cautious in this respect, that I could never succeed in detecting one of their letters."

I think I have already mentioned that on the Emperor's return from Elba, there were found in M. de Blacas' apartments in the Tuileries, numerous petitions and letters, in which Napoleon was spoken of most indecorously. "They would have formed a most odious collection," said the Emperor. "For a moment I entertained the idea of inserting some of them in the *Moniteur*. They would have disgraced certain individuals; but they would have afforded no new lesson on the human heart: men are always the same!"<sup>53</sup>

IN ONE OF the evening-parties at the Tuileries, Napoleon conversing aside with three or four individuals of the Court, who were grouped around him, closed a discussion on a great political question with the following remarkable words:—"For my part, I am fundamentally and naturally favourable to a fixed and moderate government." And observing that the countenance of one of the interlocutors expressed surprise. "You don't believe me!" continued he, "why not? Is it because my deeds do not seem to accord with my words? Is the necessity of the moment nothing in your eyes? Were I to slacken the reins only for a moment, we should have fine disorder; neither you nor I would probably sleep another night at the Tuileries."<sup>54</sup>

WE THUS PASSED more than two hours, at the end of which he began to dress. Doctor O'Meara was introduced to him—it was the usual hour of his being admitted "*Dottore*," said the Emperor to him in Italian, whilst he was shaving himself, "I have just received one of your fine London productions against me." The Doctor's countenance indicated a wish to know what it was. I shewed him the book at a distance, it was himself who had lent it to me—he was disconcerted. "It is a very just remark," continued the Emperor, "that it is the truth only which gives offence. I have not been angry for a moment, but I have frequently laughed at it." The Doctor endeavoured to reply, and puzzled himself with high flown sentences—it was, he said, an infamous, disgusting libel, everybody knew it to be such, nobody paid any attention to it—nevertheless, persons might be found who would believe it, from its not having been replied to. "But how can that be helped?" said the Emperor. "If it should enter any one's head to put in print that I had grown hairy, and walked on four paws—there are people who would believe it, and would say that God had punished me as he did Nebuchadnezzar. And what could I do? There is no remedy in such cases." The Doctor came away, hardly able to believe the gaiety, the indifference, the good nature of which he had just been witness—with regard to ourselves, we were now accustomed to it.<sup>55</sup>

"IF THERE are any means of governing with a constitution, well and good. I desired the empire of the world, and, to insure it, unlimited power was necessary to me. To govern France only, a Constitution may be better—I desired the empire of the world, and who in my situation would not? The world invited me to govern it, sovereigns and subjects vied with each other in hastening beneath my sceptre. I

have rarely found any opposition in France; but I have, however, met with more from some obscure unarmed Frenchmen, than from all these kings, so vain at present of no longer having a popular man for their equal—Consider, then, what seems to you to be possible. Give me your ideas. Free elections, public discussions, responsible ministers, liberty, all this is my wish. . . The liberty of the press in particular: to stifle it is absurd—I am satisfied upon this point . . . I am the man of the people, if the people sincerely wish for liberty: I owe it them. I have recognized their sovereignty; I am bound to lend an ear to their desires, even to their caprices. I never desired to oppress them for my own gratification. I had great designs, fate has decided them; I am no longer a conqueror, I can no more become so. I know what is possible and what is not; I have now but one charge: to relieve France, and give her a government suited to her . . . I am not inimical to liberty: I set it aside when it obstructed my road; but I comprehend it, I have been educated in its principles . . . At the same time, the work of fifteen years is destroyed; it cannot begin again. It would require twenty years, and sacrifice of two million of men . . . Besides, I am desirous of peace, and I shall obtain it only by dint of victories. I will not hold out false hopes to you; I abstain from telling you there are negotiations in train; there are none. I foresee a difficult contest, a long war. To maintain it, the nation must support me; but, in return, she will require liberty; she shall have it. The situation is new. I desire no better than to receive information; I grow old; one is no longer at forty-five what one was at thirty. The repose of a constitutional monarch may be well suited to me. It will assuredly be still more suitable to my son.”<sup>58</sup>

“What would have become of me,” said he, “had I not



followed these maxims? It has often been said that I have been too good natured, and not sufficiently cautious, but it would have been much worse for me, had my disposition been the reverse of what it is. I have been twice betrayed, it is true, and I may be betrayed a third time. But still it was my knowledge of human character, and the spirit of reasonable indulgence which I had adopted, that enabled me to govern France, and which still perhaps render me the fittest person to rule that nation, under existing circumstances. On my departure from Fontainebleau, did I not say to all who requested me to point out the line of conduct they should pursue, Go, and serve the King! I wished to grant them lawful authority for doing what many would not have hesitated to do of their own accord. I would not suffer the fidelity of some to be the cause of their ruin, and finally above all, I did not wish to have any one to censure on my return."

I here ventured, contrary to my constant custom, to call the Emperor, in some measure, to account. "How, Sir," I exclaimed, 'had your Majesty an idea of returning when you left Fontainebleau?'—'Yes, certainly, and by the simplest reasoning. If the Bourbons, said I, intend to commence a fifth dynasty, I have nothing more to do here, I have acted my part. But if they should obstinately attempt to continue the third, I shall soon appear again. It may be said, that the Bourbons then had my fame and conduct at their own disposal. It was in their power still to represent me to the eyes of the common mass of mankind, as an upstart, a tyrant, a firebrand, and a scourge. How much good sense and calm reflection would have been necessary to appreciate my real character, and render me justice!

But the men by whom the Bourbons were surrounded, and the erroneous line of conduct they pursued, rendered my

presence desirable; they restored my popularity and decreed my return. I should otherwise have ended my days on the Island of Elba, and this would doubtless have proved most to the interest of all parties. I returned to discharge a great debt, and not for the sake of resuming possession of a throne. Perhaps few will comprehend the motive by which I was actuated; no matter for that. I took upon myself a heavy charge, but it was a duty I owed to the French people. Their complaints reached me; and how could I turn a deaf ear to them?

"Upon the whole, my situation at the Island of Elba was sufficiently enviable and agreeable. All that was most distinguished in Europe was about to pass in review before me. I should have presented a spectacle unknown in history: that of a monarch descended from his throne, beholding the civilized world defile before him.

"It may indeed be affirmed, that the Allies would have removed me from my Island; and I admit that this circumstance hastened my return. But had France been wisely governed, had the French people been content, my influence would have ended; I should henceforth have belonged only to history, and the cabinet of Vienna would have entertained no idea of deposing me. It was the agitation created and maintained in France, that first gave rise to the thought of my removal."<sup>57</sup>

WE THEN perused an English publication, containing the official documents found in the Portfolio, which was taken from Napoleon at Waterloo. The Emperor was astonished himself at the number of orders which he had issued almost at the same moment, and the countless details which he had directed in every quarter of the Empire. "This publication," said he, "can do me no harm, after all. It will at least sat-

isfy every one that its contents are not the production of a sluggard. They will compare me with the legitimate Sovereigns, and I shall not suffer by the comparison."

After dinner, the Emperor conversed on several unconnected subjects. In speaking of his Ambassadors, he said he considered M. de Narbonne as the only one who had fully deserved that title, and had really fulfilled the duties of his office. "And that," said he, "by peculiar advantages, not only of his talent, but of his old-fashioned morals, his manners, and his name. When an Ambassador has merely to prescribe, any one may fill the post, one person is just as good as another, perhaps an aide-de camp is the best man that can be chosen. But when it is necessary to negotiate, the affair is widely different. In that case it is indispensable to present to the old aristocracy of the Courts of Europe, only the elements of that aristocracy, which, in fact, constitutes a sort of free masonry. If an Otto or an Andreossi were to enter the saloons of Vienna, there would be a stop to the interchange of opinion, habitual manners would cease. They would be regarded as intruders and profaners, and the mysteries of diplomacy would be suspended. But how different would it be with a Narbonne, possessing the advantages of affinity, sympathy, and identity!"<sup>38</sup>

ABOUT FIVE O'CLOCK the Emperor got into the carriage to take an airing. As we were going out, he said, "Gentlemen, but for one man I should have been master of the world! And who do you think this one man was?" We were all eagerness to know. "The Abbe de Pradt," continued the Emperor, "the Almoner of the God of War." On hearing this we could not repress our laughter. "I am serious," continued he, "the Abbe thus expressed himself in his Embassy to Warsaw, you may read it yourselves. The work

is altogether a wicked attack on me, and absolute libel overwhelming me with insults and calumnies. Whether I happened to be in a particularly good humor at the time, or whether it was because only truth offends, I know not; but, at all events, I laughed heartily when I read the work, and it afforded me abundant entertainment."<sup>59</sup>

THE EMPEROR again recurred to the Abbe de Pradt, and his work, which he reduced to merely the first and last pages. "In the first," said he, "he states himself to be the only man who arrested Napoleon's career; in the last, he shows that the Emperor, in his way back from Moscow, dismissed him from the embassy, which is true; and this fact his self-love would fain misrepresent or revenge. This is the whole work . . ."<sup>60</sup>

"Now the fact is, that I not only never committed any crimes but I never even thought of doing so. I have gone with the opinion of great masses, and with events. I am too much a fatalist, and have always despised mankind too much to have had recourse to crime to frustrate their attempts. I have always marched with the opinion of five or six millions of men. . . ."<sup>61</sup>

ON ANOTHER occasion the Emperor said, "I might have shared with Russia the possession of the Turkish empire. We had oftener than once contemplated the idea, but Constantinople was always the obstacle that opposed its execution. The Turkish capital was the grand stumbling-block between us. Russia wanted it, and I could not resign it. Constantinople is an empire of itself. It is the real keynote of power; for he who possesses it may rule the world."<sup>62</sup>

WHAT DEEDS on the part of the Allies can be compared with these? If I had not conquered at Austerlitz, I should have had all Prussia on me. If I had not proved victorious at Jena, Austria and Spain would have assailed me in my rear. If I had not triumphed at Wagram, which, by the bye, was a less decisive victory, I had to fear that Russia would abandon me, that Prussia would rise against me; and meanwhile the English were already before Antwerp.

"Yet what was my conduct after the victory? At Austerlitz I gave Alexander his liberty, though I might have made him my prisoner. After Jena I left the House of Prussia, in possession of a throne which I had conquered: after Wagram, I neglected to parcel out the Austrian monarchy.

"If all this be attributed merely to magnanimity, cold and calculating politicians will doubtless blame me. But, without rejecting that sentiment to which I am not a stranger, I had higher aims in view. I wished to bring about the amalgamation of the great European interests, in the same manner as I had affected the union of parties in France. My ambition was one day to become the arbiter in the great cause of nations and kings; it was therefore necessary that I should secure to myself claims on their gratitude, and seek to render myself popular among them. This I could not do without losing something in the estimation of others. I was aware of this. But I was powerful and fearless. I concerned myself but little about transient popular murmurs, being very sure that the result would infallibly bring the people over to my side.<sup>63</sup>

HE HOWEVER appeared low spirited and languid. He took my Atlas, which happened to be lying beside him, and opening it at the map of the world, he cast his eye on Persia.

"I had laid out some excellent plans, with regard to that country," said he. "What a happy resting point would it have been for my lever, whether I wished to disturb Russia, or to make an incursion on India. I had set on foot relations with Persia, and I hoped to bring them to a point of intimacy, as well as those with Turkey. It might have been supposed that the animals would have understood their own interests sufficiently well, to have acceded to my propositions; but both Persians and Turks evaded me at the decisive moment. English gold proved more powerful than my plans. Some treacherous ministers, for a few guineas, sacrificed the prosperity of their country; which is usually the case under seraglio monarchs or imbecile kings."

The Emperor then, abandoning politics, began to relate some anecdotes of the seraglio, and adverted to the Persians of Montesquieu, and his letters, which he said were distinguished for wit, delicate observations, and above all, for the bitter satire of the time.<sup>64</sup>

"If," said he, "my father, who died before he attained the age of forty, had survived some time longer, he would have been appointed deputy from the Corsican nobility to the Constituent Assembly. He was much attached to the nobility and the aristocracy; on the other hand, he was a warm partisan of generous and liberal ideas. He would, therefore, either have been entirely on the right side, or at least in the minority of the nobility. At any rate, whatever might have been my own personal opinions, I should have followed my father's footsteps, and thus my career would have been entirely deranged and lost."

2ndly, "If I had been older at the time of the revolution, I should perhaps myself have been appointed deputy. Being of an enthusiastic disposition, I should infallibly have adopt-

ed some opinion, and ardently followed it up But at all events I should have shut myself out from the military service, and thus again my career would have been changed "

3dly, "Had my family been better known, more wealthy or more distinguished, my rank of nobility, even though I had followed the course of the revolution, would have annulled and proscribed me I could never have obtained confidence, I could never have commanded an army, or if I had attained such a command, I could not have ventured to do all that I did Had my family circumstances been different from what they really were, I could not, with all my success, have followed the bent of my liberal ideas with regard to the priests and nobles, and I should never have arrived at the head of the Government "

4thly, 'The number of my sisters and brothers is also a circumstance which proved of great use to me, by multiplying my connections and means of influence '

5thly, "My marriage with Madame de Beauharnais placed me on a point of contact with a party, whose aid was necessary in my system of amalgamations, which was one of the chief principles of my government, and that by which it was especially characterized But for my wife I should not have obtained any natural connection with this party "

6thly, "Even my foreign origin, though in France an endeavor was made to raise an outcry against it, was not unattended by advantage The Italians regarded me as their countryman, and this circumstance greatly facilitated my success in Italy This success being once obtained, inquiries were set on foot respecting our family history, which had long been buried in obscurity My family was acknowledged by the Italians to have acted a distinguished part in the events of their country It was viewed by them as an Italian family Thus when the question of my sister

Pauline's marriage with the Prince Borghese was agitated, there was but one voice in Rome and Tuscany, among the members of that family and their adherents: 'Well,' said they, 'the union is among ourselves; they are our own connections.'" Subsequently, when it was proposed that the Emperor should be crowned by the Pope at Paris, great obstacles were, as circumstances have since proved, thrown in the way of that important event. The Austrian party in the conclave violently opposed the measure; but the Italian party decided in its favour, by adding to political considerations a little consideration of national self-love. "We are placing," said they, "an Italian family on the throne, to govern these barbarians: we shall thus be revenged on the Gauls."<sup>65</sup>

"I HAD," observed the Emperor, "rendered the duties of all my ministerial posts so easy, that almost any one was capable of discharging them, if he possessed only fidelity, zeal, and activity. I must however except the office of minister of foreign affairs, in which it was frequently necessary to exercise a ready talent for persuasion. In fact," continued he, "in the marine department but little was required, and Decres was perhaps, after all, the best man I could have found. He possessed authority, and he discharged the business of his office scrupulously and honestly. He was endowed with a good share of understanding, but this was evinced only in his conversation and private conduct. He never conceived any plan of his own, and was incapable of executing the ideas of others on a grand scale; he could walk, but he never could be made to run. He ought to have passed one-half of his time in the sea-ports, or on board the exercising squadrons. He would have lost none of my favour by so doing. But as a courtier he was afraid



to quit his portfolio. This shews how little he knew me. He would not have been the less protected by removing from my Court, his absence would have been a powerful circumstance in his favour."<sup>88</sup>

\* \* \* I, who was present at the scene, told him that I thought his manner was somewhat paternal. "I was perhaps too severe," resumed he, "I should have checked myself before I ordered him to be gone. He attempted no justification, and therefore the scene should have ended, merely by my saying *it is well*. His punishment should have awaited him at home. Anger is always unbecoming in a sovereign. But perhaps I was excusable in my council where I might consider myself in the bosom of my family, or perhaps, after all, I may be justly condemned for this act. Everyone has his fault, nature will exert her sway over us all."

He said he also reproached himself for his conduct to M. de G— at the Tuileries, during one of the grand Sunday audiences, and in presence of all the Court. "But in this instance," said he, "I was provoked to the utmost extreme. My anger burst forth against my inclination. I had given G— the command of a legion of the capital, which I was about to defend. I afterwards learned that he rejoiced in our disasters, and invoked them, though I did not know this at the period to which I am now alluding. The enemy was advancing upon us, and G— coolly wrote to inform me that his health would not permit him to take the command, though, as a courtier, he presented himself to me in perfect activity and good spirits. I was very indignant at his conduct, but I repressed my anger, and resolved to take no notice of him. He, however, on three or four occasions sought an opportunity of throwing himself in

my way. I could no longer stifle my rage, and the bomb exploded."<sup>87</sup>

THE EMPEROR thought he could perceive from the debates in the English Parliament, that there was a reserved idea respecting the division of France; this was a severe shock to his feelings. "Every one possessing a true French heart," said he, "must now be overwhelmed in despair. An immense majority of the population of France must be plunged in the deepest sorrow. Ah!" he exclaimed, "why am I not placed in some remote sphere? On a soil truly free and independent, where no external influence could be dreaded! How would I astonish the universe! I would address a proclamation to the French; I would say to them;—You are lost if you are not united. The odious, the insolent foreigner is about to parcel you out and to annihilate you. Frenchmen arise! make common cause, at all hazards,—rally, if it must be so, *even around the Bourbons* . . . let the existence, the safety of France, take place of every other consideration!"

He thought, however, that Russia must oppose this division, as she would thereby have to fear the growing strength and consolidation of Germany against her. Some one present remarked, that Austria must oppose it also from the apprehension of wanting the necessary support in case of any attempts on the part of Russia.<sup>88</sup>

"A GREAT NATION like France cannot easily be parcelled out, or if it should, it will be constantly re-uniting and seeking to recover its importance; like Ariosto's giant, who runs after his limbs and even his head, as they are lopped off, and after putting them on begins to fight again."—"But, Sire," said some one present, "the power of the giant de-

pendent in the plucking out of a single hair; and in like manner Napoleon may be said to be the hair on which depended the existence of France."—"No," resumed the Emperor, "my memory and my ideas would still survive—But," continued he, "England on the contrary, would in course of time have become a mere appendage to France, had the latter continued under my dominion. England was by nature intended to be one of our Islands, as well as Olerron or Corsica. On what trifles does the fate of Empires depend! How petty and insignificant are our revolutions in the grand organization of the universe! If instead of entering upon the Egyptian expedition, I had invaded Ireland; if some slight derangement of my plans had not thrown obstacles in the way of my Bologne enterprise, what would England have been to-day? What would have been the situation of the continent, and the whole political world?"<sup>69</sup>

THE EMPEROR concluded with saying, "The colonial system, which we have witnessed, is closed for us, as well as the whole continent of Europe; we must give it up, and henceforth confine ourselves to the navigation of the seas, and the complete liberty of universal barter."

"But," he resumed, after a few moments pause, "France is still invincible.\* France presents great resources. The French are the most intellectual people in the world. My twenty-ninth bulletin is not a ball fired at random—it is an act of well-concerted policy. In some circumstances, truth and candor are the best *finesse*. French intelligence will comprehend the position of the nation, and the sacrifices which that position demands. I, the Emperor, am only a man; but all Frenchmen know that on that man de-

\* This was said in 1814.

pend the destinies of their country, the destinies of their families, and the safety of their homes. Fools have attempted to give a ridiculous interpretation to a remark of Louis XIV who said, *l'Etat c'est moi*. These words convey an undeniable truth; they imply a power of will, without which a king is but a gilded mannikin. The state is an assemblage of undisciplined men, who soon become undisciplinable if they be not restrained by a hand of iron."<sup>70</sup>

"THE Colonial system," said he one day, "is now at an end for all; for England, who possesses every colony, and for the other powers, who possess none. The empire of the seas now belongs indisputably to England; and why should she, in a new situation, wish to continue routine course? Why does she not adopt plans that would be more profitable to her? She must look forward to a sort of emancipation to her colonies. In course of time many will doubtless escape from her dominion, and she should therefore avail herself of the present moment to obtain new securities and more advantageous connexions. Why does she not propose that the majority of her colonies shall purchase their emancipation by taking upon themselves a portion of the general debt, which would thus become specially theirs? The mother-country would by this means relieve herself of her burdens, and would nevertheless preserve all her advantages. She would retain, as pledges, the faith of treaties, reciprocal interest, similitude of language, and the force of habit; she might moreover reserve, by way of guarantee, a single fortified point, a harbor for her ships, after the manner of the factories on the coast of Africa. . . . What would she lose? Nothing; and she would spare herself the trouble and expense of an administration which, too often, serves only to render her odious. Her ministers,

it is true, would have fewer places to give away; but the nation would certainly be no loser."<sup>1</sup>

THE EMPEROR observed that the minister of the treasury, and the minister secretary of state, were two of his institutions on which he most congratulated himself, and from which he had derived the greatest assistance. "The minister of the treasury concentrated all the resources, and controlled all the expenses of the empire. From the minister secretary of state all acts emanated. He was the minister of ministers, imparting life to all intermediate acts; the grand notary of the empire, signing and authenticating all documents. Through the first I knew, at every moment, the state of my affairs; and through the second I made known my decisions and my will in all directions and everywhere. So that, with my minister of the treasury and my minister secretary of state alone, and half-a-dozen clerks, I would have undertaken to govern the empire from the remotest parts of Illyria, or from the banks of the Niemen, with as much facility as in my capital."

The Emperor could not conceive how affairs could go on with four or five secretaries of state of our kings. "And indeed how did they go on?" said he. "Each imagined, executed, and controlled his own operations. They might act in direct opposition one to another; for as the kings only affixed their sign on the margin of the plans proposed, or authenticated only the rough draft of their ordinances, the secretaries of state could fill them up, or act as they pleased without fear of any great responsibility. Add to this that the secretaries of state *had the griffe*, a contrivance, which they wanted to make me adopt, but which I rejected as a tool appropriated to the *Rois faineans*. Amongst these ministers, some might have money for which they

had no employment, and others might be unable to proceed for want of a farthing. There was no common centre to combine their movements, provide for their wants, and direct the execution of their measures.”<sup>72</sup>

WE WERE IN daily expectation of hearing the result of Lord Exmouth’s expedition,\* and asked his opinion relative to the probability of success. He replied that he thought it would succeed, especially if the fleet took and destroyed as many of their vessels as they could, then anchored opposite the town, and did not allow a single ship or vessel, not even a fishing-boat, to enter or go out. “Continue that for a short time,” added he, “and the Dey will submit or else the *canaille* will revolt and murder him, and afterwards agree to any terms you like. But no treaty will be kept by them. It is a disgrace to the powers of Europe to allow so many nests of robbers to exist. Even the Neapolitans could put a stop to it, instead of allowing themselves to be robbed. They have upwards of fifty thousand seamen in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and with their navy, they might easily prevent a single Barbary ship from stirring out.” . . . “At Amiens, I proposed to your government to unite with me, either to entirely destroy those nests of pirates, or at least to destroy their ships and fortresses, and make them cultivate their country and abandon piracy. But your ministers would not consent to it, owing to a mean jealousy of the Americans, with whom the barbarians were at war. I wanted to annihilate them, though it did not concern me much, as they generally respected my flag, and carried on a large trade with Marseilles.” . . .

\* La Barbary.

"In conformity with my system," observed he, "of amalgamating all kinds of merit, and of rendering one and the same reward universal I had an idea of presenting the cross of the legion of honour to Talma, but I refrained from doing this, in consideration of our capricious manners and absurd prejudices. I wished to make a first experiment in an affair that was out of date and unimportant, and I accordingly gave the iron crown to Crescentini. The decoration was foreign and so was the individual on whom it was conferred. The circumstance was less likely to attract public notice or to render my conduct the subject of discussion, at worst, it could only give rise to a few malicious jokes. Such," continued the Emperor, 'is the influence of public opinion. I distributed sceptres at will, and thousands readily bowed beneath their sway, and yet I could not give away a ribbon without the chance of incurring disapprobation, for I believe my experiment, with regard to Crescentini, proved unsuccessful' "73

THE EVENING after this audience, the Emperor said to us Lord Amherst has failed in his mission, but he is nevertheless a diplomatist of talent and skill. The precedent of Lord Macartney's embassy was an insurmountable obstacle at the moment when Lord Amherst determined not to submit to Ko tou. It appears that the ministers had foreseen this exaction of the court of Peking, but that bad counsels had determined Lord Amherst to use, in refusing to submit to it, all the latitude left him by his instructions. An ambassador is not the sovereign, whatever the old diplomacy may say. No king ever regarded the ambassador of another king as his equal. The last prince of the royal blood takes precedence of the first king in Europe. The erroneous idea that an ambassador stands in the place of his sovereign,





"It is certain," said the Emperor, "that Rome will afford a natural and favourable asylum for my family: there they may find themselves at home. Finally," added he, smiling, "even my name, Napoleon,\* which in Italy is uncommon, poetic, and sonorous, contributed its share in the great circumstance of my life."<sup>18</sup>

I THEN ASKED how many men he supposed had lost their lives in the business of the 13th Vendemiaire? He replied, "Very few, considering the circumstances. Of the people, there were about seventy or eighty killed, and between three and four hundred wounded; of the conventionalists, about thirty killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded. The reason there was so few killed was, that after the first two discharges, I made the troops load with powder only, which had the effect of frightening the Parisians, and answered as well as killing them would have done. I made the troops at first fire ball, because to a rabble who are ignorant of the effect of fire-arms, it is the worst possible policy to fire powder only in the beginning. For the populace after the first discharge, hearing a great noise, are a little frightened, but looking around them, and seeing nobody killed or wounded, pluck up their spirits, begin immediately to despise you, become doubly outrageous, and rush on without fear, and it is necessary to kill ten times the number that it would have been, had ball been used at first. For, with a rabble, every thing depends upon the first impressions made upon them. If they receive a discharge of fire-arms, and perceive the killed and wounded falling amongst them, a panic seizes them, they take to their heels instantly, and vanish in a moment. Therefore, when it is necessary to fire at all, it ought

\* "Lion of the desert."

to be done with ball at first. It is a mistaken instance of humanity to use powder only at that moment, and instead of saving the lives of men, ultimately causes an unnecessary waste of human blood.””

## IV.

### MILITARY AND NAVAL AFFAIRS

'You make war like a satrap Did you learn that from me? Good God!—from me, who with my array of 200,000 men, lead my own skirmishes without allowing even Champagny to follow me?'

THE EMPEROR TO KING JEROME

THE MILITARY operations of Napoleon can only be touched upon in a limited way, since, owing to their extent and importance, many volumes would be required to comprise matter available to the compiler The fact that most of the lives of Napoleon deal with his campaigns more or less fully, of course, enables readers to familiarize themselves with his career as a military commander As there are some features of executive ability, system, regard for the value of time, and many other traits displayed by Napoleon, which have a bearing on the affairs of great merchants, manufacturers and railroad officials it is likely that valuable suggestions may be gained from the study of his methods by these classes as well as by the soldier

ON THE JOURNEY Bonaparte conversed about the warriors of antiquity, especially Alexander, Cæsar, Scipio, and Hannibal I asked him which he preferred, Alexander or Cæsar "I place Alexander in the first rank," said he, "yet I admire Cæsar's fine campaign in Africa But the ground for my preference for the King of Macedonia is the plan, and above all the execution, of his campaign in Asia Only those who are utterly ignorant of war can blame Alexander for having spent seven months at the siege of Tyre For my part, I

would have stayed there seven years had it been necessary. This is a great subject of dispute; but I look upon the siege of Tyre, the conquest of Egypt, and the journey to the Oasis of Ammon as a decided proof of the genius of that great captain. His object was to give the King of Persia (of whose force he had only beaten a feeble advance-guard at the Granicus and Issus) time to reassemble his troops, so that he might overthrow at a blow the colossus which he had yet only shaken. By pursuing Darius into his states Alexander would have separated himself from his reinforcements, and would have met only scattered parties of troops who would have drawn him into deserts where his army would have been sacrificed. By persevering in the taking of Tyre he secured his communications with Greece, the country he loved as dearly as I love France, and in whose glory he placed his own. By taking possession of the rich province of Egypt he forced Darius to come to defend or deliver it, and in so doing to march half-way to meet him. By representing himself as the son of Jupiter he worked upon the ardent feelings of the Orientals in a way that powerfully seconded his designs. Though he died at thirty-three, what a name he has left behind him!"<sup>1</sup>

BE THIS as it may, the incident which decided this ever-memorable day\* was an inspiration to him. This mass of men falling on a sudden upon their antagonists, breaking and dispersing them was a delightful picture to him, and he could not turn aside from contemplating it. For a long time he repeated to himself, when he was alone, the details of this action. "It is singular!—what! all was lost—they close again, they throw themselves upon the enemy, and he is

\* Battle of Marengo.

overthrown! This action is worth all the commentaries of Cæsar." In effect the art of fighting from this time took another form with him.<sup>2</sup>

THE INSTITUTION of the *Legion of Honour* was perhaps one of the happiest stimulants which Napoleon could have devised to apply to French valour. Of this he was himself well persuaded, since he said one day to Lacepede: "You know not, sir, how much I am indebted to the Legion of Honour. When you make out a brevet for it, you may say with perfect certainty, 'It is an Order for some splendid action that I expedite.'" This honorable distinction cherished a noble emulation among the warriors to such a degree, that in a report made to General Grenier, upon an officer who had behaved with extraordinary intrepidity, the following play on words was inserted: "*This officer would put himself on a cross to obtain the cross.*"<sup>3</sup>

#### LETTER TO JOSEPHINE

My Dear,—I am at Gera today. My affairs go excellently well, and everything as I could wish. With the aid of God, they will, I believe, in a few days have taken a terrible course for the poor King of Prussia, whom I am sorry for personally, because he is a good man. The Queen is at Erfurt with the King. If she wants to see a battle, she shall have that cruel pleasure. I am in splendid health. I have already put on flesh since my departure; yet I am doing, in person, twenty and twenty-five leagues a day, on horseback, in my carriage, in all sorts of ways. I lie down at eight, and get up at midnight. I fancy at times that you have not yet gone to bed. Yours ever, NAPOLEON.<sup>4</sup>

TO M. FOUCHÉ, MINISTER OF POLICE

Benavente, 31st December 1808.

I am informed that the emigré families screen their children from the conscription, and keep them in grievous and guilty idleness. Of course those rich old families who do not belong to the system, are opposed to it. I desire you will make a list of ten of these chief families, for each Department, and of fifty for Paris, showing the age, fortune, and rank of each member. I intend to publish an edict which will send all youths of these families, over sixteen, and under eighteen years of age, to the Military School at St. Cyr. If any objection is made, the only answer you will give is, that such is my good pleasure. The future generation must not be allowed to suffer for the hatreds and petty passions of this present one. If you ask the Prefects for information, make this idea evident.<sup>5</sup>

"I HAVE seen an Order of the Day of yours,\* which makes you the laughing-stock of Germany, Austria, and France. Have you not a single friend about you, to tell you a few truths? You are a King, and brother to an Emperor—absurd qualifications in war-time. You should be a soldier, and once more a soldier, and then again a soldier! You should have neither Minister, nor Diplomatic Body, nor display. You should bivouac with your advance-guard, be on horseback day and night, march with your advance-guard, so as to secure information. Otherwise you had better stop at home in your seraglio.

"You make war like a satrap. Did you learn that from me? Good God!—from me, who, with my army of 200,000

\* His brother Jerome.

men, lead my own skirmishers, without allowing even Champagne to follow me, leaving him at Munich or Vienna?

"What has happened? that everybody is dissatisfied with you! That Kienmayer, with his 12,000 men, has made game of you and your absurd pretensions, has concealed his movements from you, and has fallen upon Junot! This would not have happened if you had been with your advance guard, and had directed the movements of your army from that position. Then you would have been aware of his movements, and you would have pursued him, either by going in to Bohemia, or by following in his rear. You have a great deal of pretension, a certain amount of wit, a few good qualities—all ruined by your conceit. You are extremely presumptuous, and you have no knowledge whatever. If the armistice had not been concluded at this juncture, Kienmayer would have attacked you, after having driven Junot out of the running.

"Cease making yourself ridiculous, send the Diplomatic Body back to Cassel. Have no baggage and no retinue. Keep one table only—your own. Make war like a young soldier, who longs for fame and glory, and try to be worthy of the rank you have gained, and of the esteem of France and of Europe, whose eyes are upon you. And have sense enough, by—I to write and speak after the proper fashion!"

DURING the whole time of the excursion made by the two sovereigns to the battle field, the Emperor had been extremely obliging in giving explanations to the young Czar, which the latter listened to with an equally extreme curiosity. His Majesty seemed to take pleasure in developing before his august ally, and in the presence of the sovereigns surrounding them, firstly the plan which he had formed and followed at Jena, and afterwards the various plans of his other

campaigns, the manoeuvres which he deemed the best, his habitual tactics, and in fine his ideas on the art of war. The Emperor in this way bore the whole brunt of the conversation during several hours, and his audience of kings paid him as much attention as pupils eager to learn give to the instructions of their master.

When His Majesty returned to his apartment, I heard Marshal Berthier say to him: "Sire, are you not afraid that the sovereigns may some day turn against you all that you have just been teaching them? Your Majesty seems to have forgotten what you have sometimes told us, namely, that we ought to act with our allies as if they were later to become our enemies." "Berthier," replied the Emperor, smiling, "that is a courageous observation on your part, and I thank you for it; I fear, God forgive me! that you must have thought me a rattle-pate. You think then," pursued His Majesty, seizing one of the Prince de Neufchatel's ears, "that I have been silly in giving them whips with which they may come back and scourge us? Don't be alarmed, I do not tell them everything."

"PUBLIC OPINION," exclaimed the Emperor, "is ever ready to prostitute itself to its own interest. Do you not perceive, Caulincourt, what is passing around us? The men whom I have raised to eminence, are now bent solely on enjoying the benefits I have heaped upon them. They do not see that they must still fight to win the repose they are thirsting for. And I! do they imagine that I rest on a bed of roses? Do not I take my share of the fatigues and perils of war? Do I not every day offer my life as a sacrifice to my country? How base is their ingratitude!"<sup>8</sup>



I HAD no recollection of any instance in which I had seen Napoleon engaged sword in hand, and I afterwards mentioned to him the affair of Arcissur-Aube. He looked at me with astonishment—"Ma foi," said he laughing, "it is a long time since anything of that kind occurred to me. By the way, I now recollect that I had some difficulty in getting at my scabbard to get out my weapon," and he laughed heartily at his own awkwardness; "but," he added, good humoredly, "the fact is, that my redoubtable sword is one of the worst blades in the whole army." We laughed at this; but it was true. One of the whims of the Emperor was, that he would not have a new hilt substituted for the shabby mother-of-pearl one. Not an officer in the army would have worn such a sword.\*

"I\* frequently received news from the Isle of Elba. The Emperor supported with heroic courage the loss of the greatest throne in the world. In one of his letters he said to me, 'It is less difficult than people think to accustom one's self to a life of retirement and peace, when one possesses within one's self some resource to make time useful. I employ myself much in my study, and when I go out I enjoy some happy moments in seeing again my brave grenadiers. Here my reflections are not continually coming in contact with painful recollections.'

"In another letter I find the following passage, which bears the stamp of the wonderful nature of Napoleon:—

" 'The lot of a dethroned king, who has been born a king, and nothing more, must be dreadful. The pomp of the throne, the gewgaws which surround him from his cradle, which accompany him step by step throughout his life, become a necessary condition of his existence. For me, always

\* Caulincourt, Duke of Vlenza.

a soldier, and a sovereign by chance, the luxuries of royalty proved a heavy charge. The toils of war and a rough camp life are best suited to my organization, my habits, and my tastes. Of all my past grandeur, I alone regret my soldiers; and of all the jewels of my crown, the French uniforms which they allowed me to take with me are the most precious I have preserved.' ”<sup>10</sup>

THE EMPEROR'S horses had come over with the Guards to find their old master in his exile.\* Each one bore the memory of a battle; the glory of past achievement.

Wagram, a grey Arab, had carried the Emperor at the battle whose name he bore. When he saw his master enter the stable, he began to whinny and paw the ground. The Emperor went up to him with a piece of sugar, and kissing him, said, “*Te voila, mon cousin!*”

Montevideo, a large and beautiful bay, was from South America, and had been through the Spanish campaign, as had Emin, a Turkish horse, chestnut, with a black stripe down his back like a mule, with mane and tail black also, and four black feet. The Emperor had ridden him into Madrid during the Russian Campaign.

Gonsalvo, also a large bay, had seen the same service in Spain, Russia, and France. He bore the Emperor at Brienne, and during the battle had had the left bridle cut in two by a ball.

Roitelet was a cross between an English horse and a Limosine mare. At Schoenbrunn in 1809 during a review, he had bolted with the Emperor amongst the ranks of the grenadiers, nearly throwing his rider, and hurting many of the men. He had been across Russia, where the Emperor at first bore a grudge against him after his behaviour at

\* Elba.

Schoenbrunn, but made friends with him again, glad to find his sure feet on that icy ground where other horses slipped and fell. Rostelet, newly shod, carried him all day without a stumble. He rode him at Lutzen, in the thickest of the fighting, when a ball, nearly carrying off both horse and rider, grazed the former so close that it carried off a piece of hair and skin from his hock. He rode him also at Arcis-sur-Aube, where a shell burst in front of them. Rostelet bounded to one side, throwing the Emperor, who said on mounting him again, "*Allons, nous sommes quittes pour la peur!*" After that day, when he visited him in the stable, he never missed stroking his hock, where the hair had never grown again.

The two most popular horses, however, were two white ones, who were collectively called "the white charger" of the Emperor, and who were as famous in their way as his little hat.

One of them, Tauris, a Persian, of wonderfully graceful build, a silvery grey, slightly dappled, with a white mane and a long fine tail, was a gift from Alexander at the Congress of Erfurth. The Emperor had ridden her in the Russian battles of Vitepsk, Smolensk, Moskva, and also at Moscow. This beautiful animal, full of mettle, in spite of her slight build, had carried her master through almost all the terrible retreat. On the morning when he had nearly been taken prisoner by the Cossacks, on the October 25, on the Kolouga Road, and which the Emperor's staff charged sword in hand to clear a way for him, the yells of the Cossacks excited her so much, that Berthier (or Rapp according to some authorities) had to seize her by the bridle and prevent her from joining in the charge, and carrying the Emperor into the midst of the enemy. She bore him to the Berezina

bridge, which they crossed at eleven o'clock in the evening. She was also in Saxony, Dresden, and Leipzig.

The other horse, and pure white, of Norman race, was ridden on parades, or State processions. On this account he was called Intendant, but the veterans called him Coco. Whenever they caught sight of him with the Emperor on his back they used to shout all together "Voilà Coco!"<sup>11</sup>

AS I ENTERED the cabinet, he raised his head, laid down his pen, and holding out his hand, though without changing his attitude, he said—'Well, Caulincourt! this is truly draining the cup of misfortune to the dregs. I wished to defer my departure only for the sake of fighting at the head of the army. I wished only to contribute my aid in repelling the enemy. I have had enough of sovereignty. I want no more of it.— I want no more of it.— (He repeated these words with marked vehemence.)— I am no longer a Sovereign, but I am still a soldier! When I heard the cannon roar—when I reflected that my troops were without a leader—that they were to endure the humiliation of a defeat without having fought—my blood boiled with indignation. All I wished for was a glorious death amidst my brave troops. But my co-operation would have defeated the schemes of traitors. France has been sold. She has been surrendered up without a blow being struck in her defence. Thirty-two millions of men have been made to bow their heads to an arrogant conqueror, without disputing the victory. Such a spectacle as France now presents is not to be found in the history of any other nation. What has France become in the hands of the imbecile government which has ruled her for the last fifteen months? Is she any longer the nation unequalled in the world.'<sup>12</sup>

## ST. HELENA

AMONG the various subjects of the day's conversation, I note down what the Emperor said respecting the armies of the Ancients. He asked whether the accounts of the great armies mentioned in history were to be credited. He was of opinion that those statements were false and absurd. He placed no faith in the descriptions of the innumerable armies of the Carthaginians in Sicily. "Such a multitude of troops," he observed, "would have been useless in so inconsiderable an enterprise; and if Carthage could have assembled such a force, a still greater one would have been raised in Hannibal's expedition, which was of much greater importance, but in which not more than forty or fifty thousand men were employed." He did not believe the accounts of the millions of men composing the forces of Darius and Xerxes, which might have covered all Greece, and which would doubtless have been subdivided into a multitude of partial armies. He even doubted the whole of that brilliant period of Greek history; and he regarded the famous Persian war only as a series of undecided actions, in which each party laid claim to the victory. Xerxes returned triumphant, after taking, burning, and destroying Athens; and the Greeks exulted in their victory, because they had not surrendered at Salamis. "With regard to the pompous accounts of the conquests of the Greeks, and the defeat of their numberless enemies, it must be recollected," observed the Emperor, "that the Greeks, who wrote them, were a vain and hyperbolical people; and that no Persian chronicle has ever been produced to set our judgment right by contrary statements."<sup>3</sup>

"A nation," said he, "can replace men more easily than honor."

"At the restoration of peace," said the Emperor, "I should have brought all the sovereigns to maintain only their guard in such a manner as that each citizen would know his post in time of need: then," added he, "would have been seen a nation well cemented, able to resist both time and men."

"They had centralized at Paris," said he, "the direction of the markets, of the furnishing materials, of the making up, and subdivided the correspondence of the ministry among as many persons as there were regiments. But, on the contrary, the correspondences should have been centralized and the resources subdivided by transporting them into several localities."<sup>14</sup>

THE conversation then turned on war and great commanders. "The fate of a battle," observed the Emperor, "is the result of a moment, of a thought: the hostile forces advance with various combinations, they attack each other and fight for a certain time, the critical moment arrives, a mental flash decides, and the least reserve accomplished the object."<sup>15</sup>

"THE Russians . . . are brave and patient. Russia is the more formidable, because she can never disarm. In Russia, once a soldier, always a soldier. Barbarians, who one may say, have no country, and to whom every country is better than the one which gave them birth. . . . Moreover the Russians are poor, and it is necessary for them to conquer. When I am dead and gone, my memory will be esteemed,

and I shall be revered in consequence of having foreseen, and endeavored to put a stop to, that which will yet take place. It will be revered when the barbarians of the north will possess Europe, which would not have happened, had it not been for you, *signori Inglesi*!"

"We rarely," said he, "find, combined together, all the qualities necessary to constitute a great general. The object most desirable is, that a man's judgment should be in equilibrium with his physical character or courage." This is what the Emperor termed being *well squared*, both by base and perpendicular.

"If," continued he, "courage be a general's predominating quality, he will rashly undertake what he cannot execute, and, on the other hand, he will venture to carry any measure into effect if his character or courage be inferior to his judgment."

He then cited the example of the Vice Roy, whose sole merit consisted in this equilibrium of character, which, however, sufficed to render him a very distinguished man.

Physical and moral courage then became the subject of discourse. "With respect to physical courage," the Emperor said, "it was impossible for Murat and Ney not to be brave, but no men ever possessed less judgment, the former in particular." "As to moral courage," observed he, "I have very rarely met with *the two o'clock in the morning kind*. I mean, unprepared courage, that which is necessary on an unexpected occasion, and which, in spite of the most unforeseen events, leaves full freedom of judgment and decision." He did not hesitate to declare that he was himself eminently gifted with this *two o'clock in the morning courage*, and that, in this respect, he had met but with few persons who were at all equal to him. He remarked that an

incorrect idea was generally formed of the strength of mind necessary to engage in one of those great battles on which depends the fate of an army or nation, or the possession of a throne. "Generals," added he, "are rarely found eager to give battle; they choose their positions; establish themselves; consider their combinations; but then commences their indecision: nothing is so difficult, and at the same time so important, as to know when to decide."

He next proceeded to notice several generals and condescended to reply to some questions that were asked him. "Kleber," said he, "was endowed with the highest talent; but he was merely the man of the moment: he pursued glory as the only road to happiness; but he had no national sentiment, and he could, without any sacrifice, have devoted himself to foreign service." Kleber had commenced his youthful career among the Prussians, to whom he continued much attached. Dessaix possessed, in a very superior degree, the important equilibrium above described. Moreau scarcely deserved to be placed in the first rank of generals; in him nature had left her work unfinished; he possessed more instinct than genius. In Lannes, courage at first predominated over judgment; but the latter was every day gaining ground, and approaching equilibrium. He had become a very able commander at the period of his death. "I found him a dwarf," said the Emperor, "but I lost him a giant." In another general, whom he named, judgment was, on the contrary, superior to courage; it could not be denied that he was a brave man; but he calculated the chances of the cannon-ball, like many others.

Speaking of military ardour and courage, the Emperor said; "I know the depth, or what I call the *draught of water* of all my generals. Some," added he, joining action to his words, "will sink to the waist, some to the chin, others over



the head, but the number of the latter is very small, I assure you" Suchet, he said, was one whose courage and judgment had been surprisingly improved. Massena was a very superior man, and by a strange peculiarity of temperament, he possessed the desired equilibrium only in the heat of battle, it was created in the midst of danger. "The generals," finally observed the Emperor, "who seemed destined to rise to future distinction were Gerard, Clausel, Foy, Lamarque, etc. These were my new marshals."<sup>17</sup>

THE Emperor, on this, observed that people had in general wondered and talked a great deal of the singular good fortune which had preserved him, as it were, invulnerable in so many battles. "They were mistaken," added he, "the only reason was, that I made a secret of all my dangers." He then related that he had had three horses killed under him at the siege of Toulon, that he had had several killed and wounded in his campaigns of Italy, and three or four at the siege of Saint Jean d'Acre. He added, that he had been wounded several times, that at the battle of Ratisbonne, a ball had struck his heel, and at the battle of Esling or Wagram, I cannot say which, a ball had torn his boot and stocking, and grazed the skin of his left leg. In 1814, he lost a horse and his hat at Arcis sur Aube, or its neighborhood. After the battle of Brienne, as he was returning to headquarters in the evening, in a melancholy and pensive mood, he was suddenly attacked by some Cossacks, who had passed over the rear of the army. He thrust one of them away, and was obliged to draw his sword in his own defence, several of the Cossacks were killed by his side. "But what renders this circumstance very extraordinary," said he, "is, that it took place near a tree which at that moment caught my eye, and which I recognized as the very one under which when

I was but twelve years old, I used to sit during play-hours and read *Jerusalem Delivered*." . . . Doubtless on that spot Napoleon had been first fired by emotions of glory!<sup>18</sup>

THE EMPEROR had heard this account without making any observation; but when it was finished, he said that one of the finest manœuvres he remembered was that which he executed at Eckmühl. Unfortunately he did not proceed, or give any particulars. "Success in war," said he, "depends so much on quicksightedness, and on seizing the right moment, that the battle of Austerlitz, which was so completely won, would have been lost if I had attacked six hours sooner. The Russians shewed themselves on that occasion such excellent troops as they have never appeared since; the Russian army of Austerlitz would not have lost the battle of the Moscowa."

"Marengo," said the Emperor, "was the battle in which the Austrians fought best: their troops behaved admirably there; but that was the grave of their valour. It has never since been seen.

"The Prussians, at Jena, did not make such a resistance as was expected from their reputation. As to the multitudes of 1814 and 1815, they were mere rabble compared to the real soldiers of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena."<sup>19</sup>

"WELL!" replied the Emperor, "you might laugh in Paris, but Pitt did not laugh in London. He soon calculated the extent of the danger, and therefore threw a coalition on my shoulders at the moment when I raised my arm to strike. Never was the English oligarchy exposed to greater danger.

"I had taken measures to preclude the possibility of failure in my landing. I had the best army in the world; I need only say, it was the army of Austerlitz. In four days

I should have been in London, I should have entered the English capital, not as a conqueror, but as a liberator I should have been another William III, but I would have acted with greater generosity and disinterestedness The discipline of my army was perfect My troops would have behaved in London the same as they would in Paris No sacrifices not even contributions, would have been exacted from the English We should have presented our selves to them, not as conquerors, but as brothers, who came to restore to them their rights and liberties I would have assembled the citizens, and directed them to labour themselves in the task of their regeneration because the English had already preceded us in political legislation, I would have declared that our only wish was to be able to rejoice in the happiness and prosperity of the English people, and to these professions I would have strictly adhered In the course of a few months, the two nations, which had been such determined enemies, would have henceforward composed only one people, identified in principles, maxims and interests I should have departed from England in order to effect, from south to north, under republican colours (for I was then First Consul) the regeneration of Europe which at a later period, I was on the point of effecting from north to south, under monarchical forms Both systems were equally good, since both would have been attended by the same result, and would have been carried into execution with firmness, moderation, and good faith How many ills that are now endured, and how many that are yet to be experienced, would not unhappy Europe have escaped! Never was a project so favourable to the interests of civilization conceived with more disinterested intentions or so near being carried into execution It is a remarkable fact, that the obstacles which occasioned my failure were not the work

of men, but proceeded from the elements. In the south, the sea frustrated my plans; the burning of Moscow, the snow, and the winter completed my ruin in the north. Thus water, air, and fire, all nature, and nature alone, was hostile to the universal regeneration, which nature herself called for! . . . The problems of Providence are insoluble."<sup>20</sup>

HERE the Grand Marshal added, that he could safely say he had seen Napoleon sleep, not only on the eve of an engagement, but even during the battle. "I was obliged to do so," said Napoleon, "when I fought battles that lasted three days; Nature was also to have her due: I took advantage of the smallest intervals, and slept where and when I could." He slept on the field of battle at Wagram, and at Bautzen, even during the action, and completely within the range of the enemy's balls. On this subject, he said, that independently of the necessity of obeying nature, these slumbers afforded a general, commanding a very great army, the important advantage of enabling him to await, calmly, the relations and combinations of all his divisions, instead of, perhaps, being hurried away by the only event which he himself could witness."<sup>21</sup>

THE Emperor further said that he found in Rollin, and even Cæsar, circumstances of the Gallic war which he could not understand. He could not by any means comprehend the invasion of the Helvetii; the road they took; the object ascribed to them; the time they spent in crossing the Rhone; the diligence of Cæsar, who found time to go into Italy, as far as Aquileia, to seek the legions, and overtook the invaders before they had passed the Saone, etc. That it was equally difficult to comprehend what was meant by establishing winter-quarters that extended from Treves to Vannes.



NAPOLÉON

*After Paul Delaroche*

"Whilst I—I must fly to the camp, and engage in the strife of war—such is the mandate of my inexplicable destiny."

"THE sea is yours,\*—your seamen are as much superior to ours as the Dutch were once to yours. I think, however, that the Americans are better seamen than yours, because they are less numerous."<sup>24</sup>

THE Emperor observed that in general the artillery did not fire sufficiently in a battle. The principal consideration in war is, that there should be no want of ammunition. When there is an actual scarcity, of course that forms an exception; but in every other case, it is necessary to fire incessantly. The Emperor, who had himself often been nearly killed by spent balls, and who knew how important such an event would have been to the fate of the battle or the campaign, maintained the propriety of firing continually, without calculating expense. Moreover, he said, that if he wished to avoid the post of danger, he would station himself at the distance of 300 toises, rather than at 600. At the first mentioned point, the balls frequently pass over the head; but at the latter they must fall somewhere or other.

He remarked, that it was impossible to make artillery fire on masses of infantry, when they were themselves assailed by an opposite battery. This arises from natural cowardice said he, good humouredly, from the irresistible instinct of self-preservation. An artillery officer who was among us protested against this observation. —"It is nevertheless true," continued the Emperor, "you immediately stand on your guard against the enemy who attacks you. You seek to destroy him lest he should cease to harass you, and direct his charge against the masses of infantry who are of much greater importance to the fate of the battle."<sup>25</sup>

\* Napoleon to Dr. O'Meara.

THE moment, however, I took the helm of affairs one of my first employments was to turn my attention to so important a point (as Cherbourg) I ordered commissions of inquiry I had the subject discussed in my presence, I made myself acquainted with the local circumstances, and I decided, that the dike should be run up with all possible means and expedition, and that two solid fortifications should, in the course of time, be constructed at the two extremities, but that measures should be immediately taken for the establishment of a considerable provision of battery I had then to encounter on all sides, the inconveniences, the objections, the particular views, the fondness which attached itself to individual opinions Several maintained, that the thing certainly could not be done, I continued steady, I insisted, I commanded, and the thing was done In less than two years a real island was seen to rise, as it were by magic, from the sea, on which was erected a battery of large calibre Until that moment, our labors had almost constantly been the sport of the English, they had, they said, been convinced from their origin, that they would prove fruitless, they had foretold, that the cones would destroy themselves, that the small stones would be swept away by the waves, and above all, they relied upon our lassitude and our inconstancy But here things were completely altered, and they made a shew of molesting our operations, they were, however, too late, I was already prepared for them The Western channel naturally continued very wide, and the two extreme fortifications, which defended, each its peculiar passage, being incapable of maintaining a cross fire, it was probable, that an enterprising enemy might be enabled to force the western channel, come himself to an anchor within the dike, and there renew the defeat of Aboukir But I had already guarded against this with my central provisional battery

However, as I am for permanent establishments, I ordered within the dike in the center, by way of support, and which in its turn, might serve as an envelope, an enormous elliptical pie to be constructed, commanding the central battery, and mounted itself in two casemated tiers, bomb proof, with 50 pieces of large calibre and 20 mortars of an extensive range, as well as barracks, powder magazine, cistern, etc.

I have the satisfaction of having left this noble work in a finished state.

Having provided for defensive, my only business was to prepare offensive measures, which consisted in the means of collecting the mass of our fleets at Cherbourg. The harbour, however, could contain but fifteen sail. For the purpose of increasing the number, I caused a new port to be dug; the Romans never undertook a more important, a more difficult task, or one which promised a more lasting duration:—It was sunk into the granite to the depth of 50 feet, and I caused the opening of it to be celebrated by the presence of Maria Louisa, while I myself was on the field of battle in Saxony. By this means I procured anchorage for 25 sail more. Still that number was not sufficient, and therefore relied on very different means of augmenting my naval strength. I was resolved to renew the wonders of Egypt at Cherbourg. I had already directed my pyramid in the sea; I would have also had my lake Moeris. My great object was to be enabled to concentrate all our maritime force, and in time it would have been immense and adequate to strike a fatal blow against the enemy. I was preparing my scene of action in such a way that the two nations, in their totality, might have been enabled to grapple with each other, man to man, and the issue could not be doubtful for we would have been more than forty million of French against fifteen millions of English. I should have wound up the war,



with the battle of Actum, and afterwards what did I want of England? Her destruction? Certainly not, I merely wanted the end of an intolerable usurpation, the enjoyment of imprescriptible and sacred rights, the deliverance, the liberty of the seas, the independence, the honor of flags. I was speaking in the name of all and for all, and I should have succeeded by concession or by force. I had, on my side, power, indisputable right, and the wishes of nations.<sup>20</sup>

ONE OF my friends, (who was as dissatisfied with the then existing government as I was myself), travelling in one of the small Versailles diligences with a soldier of the guard, maliciously excited him to express his opinions. The man complained that everything was wrong, because it was required that a soldier should know how to read and write before he could be advanced from the ranks. "So you see," he exclaimed, "the tic has returned again." This phrase pleased us, and was often repeated among us. "Well," observed the Emperor, "What would your soldiers have said when I created the Guards of the Eagle? That measure would, doubtless, have reestablished me in his good opinion. I appointed two sub-officers to be the special guards of the eagle in every regiment, one of whom was placed on either side of the standard, lest their ardour in the midst of the conflict might cause them to lose sight of the only object which they ought to have in view, namely, the preservation of the eagle, they were prohibited from using the sabre or the sword: their only arms were a few braces of pistols, their only duty was coolly to blow out the brains of the enemy who might attempt to lay hands on the eagle. But, before a man could obtain this post, he was required to prove that he could neither read nor write, and of course

you guess the reason why." "No, Sire." "Why, simpleton! Every man who has received education is sure to rise in the army, but the soldier who has not these advantages, never attains advancement except by dint of courage and extraordinary circumstances."

I MENTIONED having heard that on the eve of the battle of Jena, or some other great engagement, as Napoleon was passing a particular station, accompanied by a very small escort, a soldier refused to let him pass, and, growing angry when the Emperor insisted on advancing, swore that he should not pass even though he were the Little Corporal himself. When the soldier ascertained that it was really the Little Corporal, he was not at all disconcerted. The Emperor observed, "that was because he felt the conviction of having done his duty; and indeed the fact is, that I passed for a terrible tyrant in the salons, and even among the officers of the army; but not among the soldiers: they possessed the instinct of truth and sympathy, they knew me to be their protector, and, in case of need, their avenger."<sup>27</sup>

THE Grand Marshal here remarked that this circumstance reminded him of something that had occurred the first time he had the honor of being presented to Napoleon, and of the first words he had received from him. When Bertrand was about to leave the army of Italy, to proceed on a mission to Constantinople, the young General, perceiving that he was an officer of engineers, gave him a commission relative to that department. "On my return," said Bertrand, "I came up with you at a short distance from headquarters, and I informed you that I had found the thing impossible. On this your Majesty, whom I had addressed with great diffidence, said with the most familiar

air— "But let us see how you set to work, Sir: that which you found impossible may not be so to me " "Accordingly," continued Bertrand, "when I mentioned the means by which I had proposed to execute what your Majesty wished, you immediately substituted others In a few moments I was perfectly convinced of the superiority of your Majesty's plans and this circumstance furnished me with sentiments and recollections which have since proved very useful to me "28

NAPOLEON observed, that he did not esteem the English cavalry to be by any means equal to the infantry The men, by some fault, were not able to stop the horses, and were liable to be cut to pieces, if, in the act of charging, it became necessary to halt and retreat That the horses were accustomed to be fed too luxuriously, kept too warm, and from what he had learned, greatly neglected by the riders 29

THE PERSUAL of this account of Arcole awakened the Emperor's ideas respecting what he called that beautiful spot, Italy He ordered us to follow him into the drawing room, where he dictated to us for several hours He had caused his immense map of Italy, which covered the greatest part of the drawing-room, to be spread open on the floor, and having laid himself down upon it, he went over it on his hands and knees, with a compass and a red pencil in his hand, comparing and measuring the distance with a long piece of string, of which one of us held one of the ends "It is thus, that a country should be measured in order to form a correct idea of it, and lay down a good plan of a campaign "30

IN ANOTHER debate on the decease of soldiers, some difficulties having arisen relative to those who might die in a foreign country, the First Consul exclaimed with vivacity;—"the soldier is never abroad when he is under the national banner. The spot where the standard of France is unfurled becomes French ground!"<sup>31</sup>

TOLD him that a report had arrived in the island of war having been declared between Spain and America, and Russia and America. "Russia and America?" said he, "Impossible. If it takes place I shall never be astonished again at any circumstance that happens. The Spaniards will be well drubbed."<sup>32</sup>

"OH," exclaimed the Emperor, "why did not Suffren live till my time, or why did not I light on a man of his stamp? I would have made him our Nelson. I was constantly seeking for a man qualified to raise the character of the French navy, but I could never find one. There is in the navy a peculiarity, a technicality which impeded all my conceptions. If I proposed a new idea, immediately Ganthauine, and the whole Marine Department, were up against me.—"Sire, that cannot be."— Why not?—Sire, the winds do not admit of it:" then objections were started respecting calms and currents, and I was obliged to stop short. How is it possible to maintain a discussion with those, whose language we do not comprehend? How often, in the Council of State, have I reproached naval officers with taking an undue advantage of this circumstance.. To hear them talk, one might have been led to suppose that it was necessary to be born in the navy to know anything about it. Yet I often told them, that had it been in my power to have performed a voyage to India with them, I should, on my return,

have been as familiar with their professions as with the field of battle. But they could not credit this. They always repeated, that no man could be a good sailor unless he were brought up to it from his cradle, and they at length prevailed on me to adopt a plan, about which I long hesitated, namely, the enrolment of several thousand of children from six to eight years of age.

"My resistance was vain, I was compelled to yield to the unanimous voice, while I assured those who urged me to this measure that I left all the responsibility with them. What was the result? It excited clamor and discontent on the part of the public, who turned the whole affair into ridicule, styling it the massacre of the innocents, etc. Subsequently, De Winter, Verhuel, all the great naval commanders of the north, and others, assured me that from eighteen to twenty (the age for the conscription), was early enough to begin to learn the duties of a sailor. The Danes and Swedes employ their soldiers in the navy. With the Russians, the fleet is but a portion of the army, which affords the invaluable advantage of keeping up a standing army, and for a twofold object.

"I had myself," added he, "planned something of the kind, when I created my crews for men of war, but what obstacles had I to encounter, what prejudices had I to subdue, what perseverance was I obliged to exert, before I could succeed in clothing the sailors in uniform, forming them into regiments, and drilling them by military exercise. I was told that I should run all. And yet, can there be a greater advantage than for one country to possess both an army and a navy? The men, thus disciplined, were not worse sailors than the rest, while, at the same time, they were the best soldiers. They were, in case of need, prepared to serve as sailors, soldiers, artillerymen, pontoons, etc. If, instead

of being thus opposed by obstacles, I had found in the navy a man capable of entering into my views, and promoting my ideas, what importance might we not have obtained! But, during my reign, I never found a naval officer who could depart from the old routine, and strike out a new course. I was much attached to the navy; I admired the courage and patriotism of our seamen; but I never found between them and me an intermediate agent, who could have brought them into operation in the way I wished.”<sup>33</sup>

No SERIES of great actions is the mere work of chance and fortune; it is always the result of reflection and genius. Great men rarely fail in the most perilous undertakings. Look at Alexander, Cæsar, Hannibal, the great Gustavus, and others; they always succeeded. Were they great men merely because they were fortunate? No; but because, being great men, they possessed the art of commanding fortune. When we come to inquire into the causes of their success, we are astonished to find that they did everything to obtain it.

“Alexander, when scarcely beyond the age of boyhood, with a mere handful of brave troops, conquered a quarter of the globe. But was this achievement the result of a mere accidental irruption, a sort of unexpected deluge? No; all was profoundly calculated, boldly executed, and prudently managed. Alexander proved himself at once a distinguished warrior, politician, and legislator. Unfortunately, on attaining the zenith of glory and success, his head was turned, and his heart corrupted. He commenced his career with the mind of Trajan; but he closed it with the heart of Nero, and the manners of Heliogabalus.” The Emperor here described the campaigns of Alexander, in such a manner, as to enable me to view the subject in a totally new light.

Alluding to Cæsar, the Emperor remarked, that he, the reverse of Alexander, had commenced his career, at an advanced period of life, that his youth had been passed in indolence and vice, but that he had ultimately evinced the most active and elevated mind. He thought him one of the most amiable characters in history. "Cæsar," observed he, "overcame the Gauls, and the laws of his country. But his great warlike achievements must not be attributed merely to chance and fortune." Here he analyzed the victories of Cæsar, as had done those of Alexander.

"Hannibal," continued the Emperor, "is perhaps the most surprising character of any, from the intrepidity, confidence, and grandeur, evinced in all his enterprises. At the age of twenty six, he conceived what is scarcely conceivable, and executed what must have been impossible. Renouncing all communication with his country, he marched through hostile or unknown nations, which he was obliged to attack and subdue. He crossed the Pyrenees and the Alps, which were presumed to be impassable, and he descended upon Italy, sacrificing the half of his army for the mere acquisition of his field of battle, the mere right of fighting. He occupied and governed Italy for the space of sixteen years, being several times within a hair's breath of possessing himself of Rome, and only relinquished his prey when his enemies profiting by the lesson he had set them, marched to attack the Carthaginian territory. Can it be supposed that Hannibal's glorious career and achievements were the mere result of chance, and fortune's favors? Certainly, Hannibal must have been endowed with great vigor of mind, and he must have possessed a vast consciousness of his own skill in the art of war, when being interrogated by his youthful conqueror, he hesitated not to place himself, though subdued, next in rank to

Alexander and Pyrrhus, whom he esteemed as the first of warriors.

"All the great Captains of antiquity," continued Napoleon, "and those who in modern times have successfully retraced their footsteps, performed vast achievements, only by conforming with the rules and principles of the art; that is to say, by correct combinations, and by justly comparing the relation between means and consequences, efforts and obstacles. They succeeded only by the strict observance of these rules, whatever may have been the boldness of their enterprises, or the extent of the advantages gained. They invariably practised war as a science. Thus they have become our great models, and it is only by closely imitating them, that we can hope to come near them.

"My greatest successes have been ascribed merely to good fortune; and my reverses will no doubt be imputed to my faults. But if I should write an account of my campaigns, it will be seen that in both cases, my reason and faculties were exercised in conformity with principles."

Alluding to the great difference between ancient and modern warfare, he observed: "The invention of fire-arms has wrought a total change. This great discovery operates entirely to the advantage of assailants, though many moderns have maintained the contrary opinion. The corporal strength of the ancients," added he, "was in harmony with their offensive and defensive weapons; ours, on the other hand, are entirely beyond our sphere."

Should the Emperor leave behind him his thoughts on these points, they will be truly invaluable. In course of the evening, he pronounced his opinion on several military subjects; sometimes embracing the highest questions, and sometimes descending into the minutest details.

He remarked, that war frequently depended on accidents,



and that though a commander ought to be guided by general principles, yet, he should never lose sight of any thing that may enable him to profit by accidental circumstances. The vulgar call good fortune, that which, on the contrary, is produced by the calculations of genius.

In the present mode of military operations, he thought it advisable that greater consistency should be given to the third rank of infantry, or, that it should be suppressed, and he explained his reasons for this.

He was of opinion, that infantry charged by cavalry, should fire from a distance, instead of firing closely, according to the present practice. He proved the advantage of this method.

He observed, that infantry and cavalry left to themselves, without artillery, could procure no decisive result, but that, with the aid of artillery, all things else being equal, cavalry might destroy infantry. He clearly explained these facts, and many others besides.

He added that artillery really decided the fate of armies and nations, that men now fought with blows of cannon balls, as they fought with blows of fists, for in battle as in siege, the art consisted in making numerous discharges converge on one and the same point, that amidst the conflict, he who had sufficient address to direct a mass of artillery suddenly and unexpectedly on any particular point of the enemy's force, was sure of the victory. This, he said, had been his grand secret, and his grand plan of tactics.

The Emperor conceived that it would be impossible to form a perfect army, without a revolution in the manners and education of the soldier, and perhaps even the officer. It would be necessary to abolish our arms, magazines, commissaries, and carriages. There could be no perfect army, until in imitation of the Roman custom, the soldier should

receive his supply of corn, grind it in his hand-mill, and bake his bread himself. We could not hope to possess an army, until we should abolish all our monstrous train of civil attendants, and commissary officers.

"I contemplated all these changes," said he, "but they never could have been put in practice, except during profound peace. An army in a state of war, would infallibly have rebelled against such innovations."<sup>34</sup>

"THE author," continued he, "has made a great mistake in saying, that after Jena, I never did anything worthy of my former actions. The greatest military manœuvres I ever made, and those for which I give myself most credit, were performed at Eckmuhl, and were infinitely superior to Marengo, or to any other of my actions."<sup>35</sup>

"WHEN I was at Tilsit, with the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, *I was the most ignorant of the three in military affairs*. These two sovereigns, especially the King of Prussia, were completely *au fait*, as to the number of buttons there ought to be in front of a jacket, how many behind, and the manner in which the skirts ought to be cut. Not a tailor in the army knew better than King Frederick, how many measures of cloth it took to make a jacket. In fact," continued he, laughing, "I was nobody in comparison with them. They continually tormented me with questions about matters belonging to tailors, of which I was entirely ignorant, although, in order not to affront them, I answered just as gravely as if the fate of an army depended upon the cut of a jacket. When I went to see the King of Prussia, instead of a library, I found he had a large room, like an arsenal, furnished with shelves and pegs, in which were placed fifty or sixty jackets of various modes. Every day

he changed his fashion, and put on a different one. He was a tall, dry looking fellow, and would give a good idea of Don Quixote. He attached more importance to the cut of a dragoon or a hussar uniform, than was necessary for the salvation of a kingdom. At Jena, his army performed the finest and most shewy manœuvres possible, but I soon put a stop to their *coglionerie*, and taught them, that to fight, and to execute dazzling manœuvres and wear splendid uniforms, were very different affairs. If," added he, "the French army had been commanded by a tailor, the King of Prussia would certainly have gained the day, from his superior knowledge in that art; but as victories depend more upon the skill of the general commanding the troops, than upon that of the tailor, who makes their jackets, he consequently failed."

The Emperor then observed, that we\* allowed too much baggage, and too many women to accompany our armies. "Women when they are bad," said he, "are worse than men, and more ready to commit crimes. The soft sex, when degraded, falls lower than the other. Women are always much better, or much worse than men."\*\*

I ASKED if he had not been frequently slightly wounded? He replied, "several times, but scarcely more than once had I occasion for surgical assistance, or any fever in consequence of a wound. At Marengo a cannon-shot took away a piece of the boot of my left leg, and a little of the skin," said he, shewing the mark to me, "but I used no other application to it than a piece of linen dipped in salt and water." I asked about a wound of which there was a deep mark in the inside of the left thigh, a little above the knee. He said, that it was from a bayonet. I asked if he had not had

\* The English.

horses frequently killed under him, to which he answered, eighteen or nineteen in the course of his life.<sup>37</sup>

SPEAKING about service on board of ships of war at sea during the winter, especially of a certain class, I\* remarked, the seamen were better off in point of being able to warm themselves at a fire than the officers. "Why so?" said Napoleon. I replied, "because they have the advantage of the galley fire, where they can warm and dry themselves." "And why not the officers?" I said, that it would not be exactly decorous for the officers to mix in that familiar way with the men. "Ah! la morgue aristocratique, la rage aristocratique," exclaimed Napoleon. "Why, in my campaigns I used to go to the lines in the *bivouacs*, sit down with the meanest soldier, converse, laugh, and joke with him. I always prided myself on being l'homme du peuple," (the man of the people).<sup>38</sup>

"A GENERAL, who sees with the eyes of others," added he, "will never be able to command an army as it should be. Massena was then so ill, that he was obliged to trust to the reports of others, and consequently failed in some of his undertakings. At Busaco, for example, he attempted to carry a position almost impregnable in the manner he attacked it; whereas, if he had commenced by turning it, he would have succeeded. This was owing to his not being able to reconnoitre personally."<sup>39</sup>

You\* talk of your freedom. Can anything be more horrible than your pressing of seamen? You send your boats on shore to seize upon every male that can be found, who, if they have the misfortune to belong to the *canaille*,

\* Dr. O'Meara.

if they cannot prove themselves *gentlemen*, are hurried on board of your ships, to serve as seamen in all quarters of the globe And yet you have the impudence to talk of the conscription in France it wounds your pride, because it fell *upon all ranks* Oh, how shocking that a gentleman's son (in English) should be obliged to defend his country, just as if he were one of the *canaille*! And that he should be compelled to expose his body, or put himself on a level with a *vile plebian*! Yet God made all men alike Who forms the nation? Not your lords, nor your fat prelates (*panciuti*) and churchmen, nor your *gentlemen*, nor your oligarchy Oh! one day the people will revenge themselves, and terrible scenes will take place "

"That conscription," continued Napoleon "which offended your *morgue aristocratique* so much, was conducted scrupulously according to the principles of equal rights Every native of a country is bound to defend it The conscription did not *ecraser* a particular class like your press gang, nor the *canaille*, because they were poor It was the most just, because the most equal mode of raising troops "60

MILITARY SURVEILLANCE OF THE EMPEROR'S PERSON  
AT ST HELENA

PROCLAMATION by Lieut-General Sir Hudson Lowe, KCB, Governor and Commander in Chief, for the Honourable East India Company, of the island of St Helena, and commanding His Majesty's Forces on the said Island

By virtue of the powers and authority vested in me by a warrent in the king's majesty's name, bearing date the 12th day of April, in the present year, and in the fifty sixth year of his majesty's reign, authorizing and commanding me to detain in custody Napoleon Bonaparte, and him to deal with

and treat as a prisoner of war, under such restrictions, and in such manner as shall have been, or shall be from time to time signified to me under the hand of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and to prevent the rescue or escape of the said Napoleon Bonaparte; in the due execution whereof, all his majesty's officers, civil naval, and military and all his living subjects, whom it may concern, are required to be aiding and assisting as occasion there may be; public notice is hereby given, that two acts have been passed in the present session of the British parliament, the one for detaining in custody the said Napoleon Bonaparte, and adjudging capital punishment on those who may be assisting in his escape; and the other for regulating the intercourse of shipping with the island of St. Helena, during the time Napoleon Bonaparte shall be detained in custody.

Any person or persons who may receive letters or *communications for the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants*, and shall not immediately deliver or make known the same to the governor, or officer commanding for the time being; or who shall furnish the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants, with money, or any other means whatever, whereby his escape might be furthered, *will be considered in like manner to have been assisting in the same, and will be proceeded against accordingly.*

All letters or communications for or from the said Napoleon, any of his followers, or attendants, whether sealed or open, are to be forwarded to the governor without loss of time, in the same state in which they may have been received.

Given under my hand in James Town, in the island of St. Helena, the 28th day of June, 1816.<sup>41</sup>

(Signed)

Hudson Lowe,

GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF

By command of the Governor,

(Signed)

G. Gorrequer,

ACT MIL SEC

## V.

### PUBLIC WORKS, IMPROVEMENTS ETC.

"If Heaven had then granted me a few years, I would certainly have made Paris the capital of the world, and all France a real fairyland."

NAPOLEON

ONE OF the most remarkable characteristics of Napoleon was his versatility,—a many-sided one that was, however, not superficial, since when he came in contact with specialists, they were astonished at his familiarity with their profession and they marvelled respecting the means he had employed, the time he found, to master the knowledge, and the tenacity of his memory in holding it at his instant command.

On one occasion he enumerated some of the more important improvements and enterprises which he planned and carried into execution. They were as follows: the noble harbors of Antwerp, Flushing and Cherbourg; the hydraulic works at Dunkirk, Havre and Nice: the maritime works at Venice; the roads from Mentz to Metz—from Bordeaux to Bayonne; the passes of the Simplon of Mount Cenis of Mount Geneva, of the Comichi; the road from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Parma to Spezia, from Savona to Piedmont; the bridges of Jena, Austerlitz, De Auts, Sevres, Tours, Rouanne, Lyons, Turin, of the Isere, of the Durance of the Bordeaux, Rouen etc.; the canal which connects the Rhine with the Rhone; the canal which connects Scheldt with the Somme; the canal which connects Rance to the Vilaine; the canal of Aries. that of the Pavia and the canal of the Rhine; the draining of the marshes of Burgoine, of the Cotentin, of Rochfort; the rebuilding of churches and



building of others; the institutions of numerous establishments of industry; the building of the Louvre, of public warehouses, of the Bank, of the canal of the Ourcq; the distribution of the water in the city of Paris, the numerous drains, the quays, the embellishments and the monuments; the works for the establishment of Rome; the re-establishment of the manufactures of Lyons; the creation of many hundreds of manufactories of cotton, for spinning and weaving; funds for establishing upwards of 400 manufactories of sugar from beet-roots; the substitution of wood for indigo; numerous manufactories for all kinds of objects of art; fifty millions expended in repairing and beautifying the palaces belonging to the Crown; sixty millions in furniture for these palaces in France and in Holland, at Turvin and at Rome; sixty millions of diamonds for the Crown; the Napoleon Museum, valued at upwards of 4000,000,000; several millions amassed to be applied to the encouragement of agriculture; the introduction into France of Merino sheep etc.

"WE PROMENADED for some time in these beautiful gardens and their fine greenhouses. They are greatly improved since; yet the Botanical Gardens were even then the most complete institution of the kind in Europe. Other museums were richer in particular articles, but ours alone possessed that superiority in all, which has since rendered it the universal rendezvous for the study of natural history. Napoleon observed that day, "It is my wish to render this the most attractive spot to all learned foreigners in Paris. I wish to draw them here to see and admire a people in their love of science and the arts. The museum of natural history shall be what those of sculpture and painting, and of ancient monuments, will be. Paris should be the first city

of the world. If God grant me a life long enough, I would have her become the capital of the universe, in science as well as power. Our painters are already the first, the best in Europe. Excepting Canova and Appiani, Italy herself cannot boast talents equal to ours in painting and sculpture. Their poets also are inferior to ours. Cesarotti and Alfieri cannot dispute the palm with our young writers. In short," added he, "I am proud of my country, and I would have her always mindful of what she is and may be."<sup>1</sup>

As an example of Bonaparte's grand schemes in building I may mention that, being one day at the Louvre, he pointed towards St. Germain l'Auxerrois and said to me, "That is where I will build an imperial street. It shall be a hundred feet broad, and have arcades and plantations. This street shall be the finest in the world."<sup>2</sup>

ABOUT THIS time the Jardin des Plantes had been greatly improved by the exertions of a man whom France ought to remember with gratitude. The Jardin des Plantes, which had originally been confined exclusively to the cultivation of medical plants, became, under the superintendence of M. Tournefort, a nursery for all branches of botany.

"There," Junot used to say, "we not only inhaled pure air, but it seemed, as soon as we passed the gate, that we left a heavy burthen behind us. All around us presented the aspect of peace and kindness. The evening was generally the time for our visits to M. D'Aubenton. We used to find him like a patriarch surrounded by his labourers, whose planting and digging he was superintending. He was actively assisted by the brothers Thouin, whose zeal for the science of botany induced them to work in the plantations like common gardeners."

The eldest of these two brothers was a man of rare acquirements, and Bonaparte used to be fond of walking with him round the extensive hothouses, which were already beginning to be filled with rare plants, and which subsequently, under his auspices, became the finest temple ever raised to Nature in the midst of a city<sup>3</sup>

"I HAVE often set myself against the feasts which the city of Paris wished to give me. They consisted of dinners, balls, artificial fireworks, at an expense of two or three hundred thousand dollars, the preparations for which obstructed the public for several days, and which afterward cost as much to take away as they had cost in their construction. I proved that with these idle expenses they might have erected lasting and magnificent monuments.

"One must have gone through as much as I have in order to be acquainted with all the difficulties of doing good. If the business related to chimneys, partitions, and furniture for some individuals in the imperial palaces, the work was quick and effectual. But if it were necessary to lengthen the garden of the Tuileries, to render some quarters wholesome, to clean some sewers, and to accomplish a task beneficial to the public, in which some particular person had no direct interest, I found it requisite to exert all the energy of my character, to write six, to ten letters a day, and to get into a downright passion. It was in this way that I paid out as much as six millions of dollars in sewers, for which nobody was ever to thank me. I pulled down a property of six millions in houses in front of the Tuileries for the purpose of forming the Carrousel and throwing open the Louvre. What I did is immense. What I had resolved to do, and what I projected, were still much more so"<sup>4</sup>

“Fontainebleau, November 14, 1807.

“Monsieur Cretet, Minister of the Interior:—You have received the imperial decree by which I have authorized the sinking fund to lend 1,600,000 dollars to the city of Paris. I suppose that you are employed in taking measures which may bring these works to a speedy conclusion, and may augment the revenues of the city. In these works there are some which will not be very productive, but are merely for ornament. There are others, such as galleries over the markets, the slaughter houses, etc., which will be very productive; but to make them so will require activity. The shops for which I have granted you funds are not yet commenced. I suppose you have taken up the funds destined for the fountains, and that you have employed them provisionally for the machine at Marly. Carry on the whole with spirit. This system of advancing money to the city of Paris to augment its branches of revenue, is also intended to contribute to its embellishment. My intention is to extend it to other departments.

“I HAVE made the glory of my reign to consist in changing the surface of the territory of my empire. The execution of these great works is as necessary to the interests of my people as to my own satisfaction. I attach equal importance and glory to the suppression of mendicity. Funds are not wanting. But it seems to me that the work proceeds slowly, and meantime years are passing away. *We must not pass through this world without leaving traces which may commend our memory to posterity.*

“I am going to be absent for a month. Be ready on the 15th of December to answer all these questions, which you

will have examined in detail, that I may be able, by a general decree, to put the finishing blow to mendicity. You must find, before the 15th of December, in the reserved funds and the funds of the communes, the necessary means for the support of sixty or one hundred houses for the extirpation of beggary. The places where they shall be erected must be designated, and the regulations completed. Do not ask me for three or four months to obtain further instructions. Bring all into action, and do not sleep in the ordinary labors of the bureau. It is necessary, likewise, that, at the same time, all that relates to the administration of the public works should be completed, so that at the commencement of the fine season France may present the spectacle of a country without a single beggar, and where all the population may be in action to embellish and render productive our immense territory.

"You must also prepare for me all that is necessary respecting the measures to be taken for obtaining, from the draining of the marshes of Cottentin and Rochefort, money for supporting the fund for public works, and for finishing the drainings or preparing others."

As NAPOLEON was visiting the southern departments of his empire, an incident occurred peculiarly illustrative of his watchfulness and of his discrimination. He had ordered some very difficult and important works to be executed on a bridge of the canal of Languedoc. The engineer had admirably accomplished the arduous achievement. Napoleon wished to inspect the works, and to reward the author of them on the theatre of his glory. He sent orders to the prefect of the department and the chief engineer to repair to the spot. Napoleon, ever punctual, arrived before the prefect, and found the chief engineer at the place. He im-

mediately entered into conversation with him, and asked many questions upon every point of difficulty which must have been encountered in the execution of an enterprise so arduous. The engineer seemed embarrassed, and replied with hesitation and confusion. Soon the prefect appeared. Napoleon promptly said to him,

"I am not correctly informed. The bridge was not made by that man. Such a work is far beyond his capacity." The prefect then confessed that the chief engineer was neither the originator of the plan nor the author of the works, but that they both belonged to a modest, subordinate man, unknown to fame.

The Emperor immediately sent for this sub-engineer, and questioned him closely upon every point which he was desirous of receiving information. He was perfectly satisfied with the answers.

"I am quite pleased," said he, "at having come in person to inspect these splendid works, otherwise I should never have known that you were the author of them, and you would have been deprived of the regard to which you are so justly entitled." He appointed the young man, whose genius he had thus discovered, chief engineer, and took him to Paris.<sup>a</sup>

IT WAS now necessary to choose a lodging for the Emperor.\*

He thought at first of taking one of the barracks of the citadel and changing it into rooms for his own use. It was large enough to contain all his household. But General Bertrand objected to this arrangement, thinking that each officer would be better in his own house. The Emperor finally decided to pull down a number of small sheds and windmills on the slope of the hill, and to alter two houses

\* At Elba.

occupied by the engineers and artillery, joining them by a central building. This became the Mulini Palace, as the Elbans called it, naming it after the windmills previously standing there.

The Emperor was his own architect, drew the plans for the masons and carpenters himself, and moved into the building while the plaster and paint were still wet.

In the design the ornamental and useful were closely allied. On the ground floor was a large room, looking on to the garden, intended for various purposes, prescribed by the Emperor, "This room will be used as a theatre, a bath-room, and a dining-room for myself and my household. For these purposes you will arrange," (these instructions were addressed to Bertrand, the Grand Marechal of the Palace), "that a flat ceiling is constructed, six windows with Venetian blinds, and a stage on trestles three feet high. Here I should like a billard table, and, at the end of the room, a small addition with a bath. A folding partition must be arranged in the room, dividing it, if necessary, into two. The room can also be used for receptions—and for this purpose there must be chandeliers, and marble tables, to be used as buffets. The room will thus answer all my purposes." When the building lingered on into June he said, "Give orders to the builder that everything be ready at the end of next week."

On the ground floor was also the Emperor's bed-room, which communicated with a large room by a glass door. On the first floor was "a lofty room extending over all the centre of the building." This was a room with four windows to the town and four to the sea.<sup>7</sup>

"NAPOLEON, King of Elba, reigned a little less than ten months. The island owed innumerable benefits to him.

For several months, under his own supervision, he pursued, on a small scale and apparently trivial lines, the same labour of systematic organisation and material progress that he had carried on for years with more complicated machinery within his vast empire.

He bequeathed a network of roads to a country where it was only possible to travel on donkey-back or mule before this time. He developed its resources according to the laws of modern political economy. He taught the peasants to clear the deserted territory, and to sow more corn as a provision against want, and left thousands of olive, orange, and mulberry trees from Italy on this once arid soil. He gave instruction to, and enforced the laws of hygiene upon, a people who wallowed in filth. He drained the foetid swamps, the haunt of mosquitoes and fever, and forbade them to defile the wells. He sought out and cleared the springs, and dug cisterns for years of drought. He revived the commerce of the island, initiated improvements in the ports, and proposed to make Porto Ferraio a free harbour, to serve as a place of call and depot for the Levantine navigation. He made a point of taking half the expense in every detail of these matters upon his own shoulders. Often he paid for them entirely, notwithstanding the new subsidies. The municipal finances of Porto Ferraio exceeded the receipts, and if private individuals were ruinously lavish of their fetes and parades in order to give him pleasure, and keep up the honour of their dignity, he repaid them royally.<sup>8</sup>

"THE POLITICAL passions which this Great Dead inspires in us, are non-existent in that remote island. He is respected because he was great, and because it is more difficult to rise above the common ruck of men than to criticise



and judge those who have risen. He is honoured, too, in grateful remembrance of the good he did within his little kingdom, and for the place he has given it in history."<sup>9</sup>

"It is THUS," he continued, "that I should have been able in every place to prevent frauds, punish misappropriations, direct edifices, bridges, roads, drain marshes, fertilize lands, etc— If Heaven had then," he continued, "granted me a few years, I would certainly have made Paris the capital of the world, and all France a real fairy-land." He often repeated the last words how many people have already said this, or will repeat it after him."<sup>10</sup>

DURING the conversation at dinner, the Emperor inquired whether the quantity of river water which flowed into the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, had been calculated. This led him to express a wish, that a calculation of the fluvial water of our Europe should be made, and that the proportion contributed by each torrent and water-fall, should be ascertained. He regretted much, that he had not presented that series of scientific questions. That was, he observed, his grand system, did any useful, curious or interesting question suggest itself to him, "I proposed, at my levees, or in my familiar communications, analogous questions to my members of the institute, with orders to resolve them. The solution became a subject of public inquiry, it was analyzed, contested, adopted and rejected, and there is nothing which cannot be accomplished in this way. It is the grand lever of improvement for a great nation, that possesses a great deal of intelligence, and a great deal of knowledge."

The Emperor also observed on this subject, that geography had never been so successfully cultivated as at

present, and that his expeditions had contributed somewhat to its improvement. He afterwards noticed the canals, which he had caused to be made in France, and particularly mentioned that from Strasburg to Lyons, in which, he hoped sufficient progress had been made, to induce others to complete it. He thought, that out of thirty millions, twenty-four must have been already expended.

“Communications are now established in the interior from Bordeaux to Lyons and Paris. I had constructed a great number of canals, and projected a great many more.” One of us having observed, that a proposal for the construction of a very useful canal had been submitted to the Emperor; but that measures had been taken to deceive him, for the purpose of preventing his acceptance of the offer. “Without doubt,” said the Emperor, “the plan must have appeared advantageous only on paper; but I suppose it would have been necessary to advance money, which was drawn from me with difficulty.”—“No, Sire, the refusal was but the effect of an intrigue. Your majesty was deceived.” “It was impossible with respect to such a subject. You speak without sufficient information.” “But I am confident of it. I was acquainted with the plan, the offers and the subscribers, my relations had put down their names for considerable sums. The intended object was the union of the Muese with the Marne. The extent of the canal would have been less than seven leagues.” “But you do not tell us all, it was, perhaps, required, that I should grant away immense national forests in the environs, that I should not have agreed to.” “No, Sire, the whole was an intrigue of your board of bridges and roads.” “But even then, it was necessary for them to allege some reasons, some appearance of public interest. What reasons did they assign?” “Sire, that the profits would have been too considerable.” “But

in that case the plan ought to have been submitted to me in person, and I would have carried it into execution. I repeat, that you are not justified by the facts, you are speaking now to a man upon the very subject, which constantly engaged his attention. The board of bridges and roads were, on their part, never happier than when they were employed. There never was an individual, who proposed the construction of a bridge, that was not taken at his word. If he was asked for a toll for twenty five years I was disposed to grant him one for thirty. If it cost me nothing, it was a matter of indifference whether it would prove useful. It was always a capital with which I enriched the soil. Instead of rejecting proposals for canals, I eagerly courted them. But, my dear Sir, there are now two things that resemble each other so little as the conversation of a saloon, and the consideration of an administrative council. The projector is always right in a saloon, his projects would be magnificent and infallible, if he were listened to, and if he can, by some little contrivance, but connect the refusal, under which he suffers, with some bottles of wine, with some intrigue carried on by wife or a mistress, the romance is complete, and that is what you probably heard. But an administrative council is not to be managed so, because it comes no decision but on facts and accurate measurement. What is the canal you mentioned? I cannot be unacquainted with it"—"Sire, from the Meuse to the Marne, a distance of seven leagues only." "Very well! My dear Sir, it is from the Meuse to the Aisne you mean to say, and it would have been less than seven leagues. I shall soon recollect all about it, there is however, but one little difficulty to overcome, and that is, that this very instant it is doubtful whether the project be practicable. There, as in other places, Hippocrates says yes, and Galen says no. Tarbe

maintained, that it was possible, and denied, that there was a sufficiency of water at the points of separation. I repeat, that you are speaking to him, who, of all others is the most attentive to these objects, more especially in the environs of Paris. It was the subject of my perpetual dreams, to render Paris the real capital of Europe. I sometimes wish it, for instance, to become a city with population of two, three, or four millions, in a word, something fabulous, colossal, unexampled until our days, and with public establishments suitable to its population." Some one having observed, that if Heaven had allowed the Emperor to reign sixty years, as it had Louis XIV., he would have left many grand monuments. "Had Heaven but granted me twenty years, and a little more leisure," resumed the Emperor with vivacity, "ancient Paris would have been sought for in vain; not a trace of it would have been left, and I should have changed the face of France. Archimides promised every thing, provided he was supplied with a resting place for his lever; I should have done as much, wherever I could have found a point of support for my energy, my perseverance, and my budgets; a world might be created with budgets. I should have displayed the difference between a constitutional Emperor and a King of France. The Kings of France have never possessed any administrative or municipal institution. They have merely shown themselves great lords who ruined their men of business.

"The nation itself has nothing in its character, but what is transitory and perishable. Everything is done for the gratification of the moment and of caprice, nothing for duration. . . . That is our motto, and it is exemplified by our manners in France. Every one passes his life in doing and undoing; nothing is ever left behind. Is it not unbecoming,

that Paris should not possess even a French theatre, or an opera house, in any respect worthy of its high claims?"<sup>11</sup>

A PERSON then remarked, that the Emperor's labors had not been limited either to Paris or to France, but that almost every town in Italy supplied instances of his creative powers. Everywhere one travelled, at the foot as well as on the top of the Alps, on the sands of Holland, on the banks of the Rhine, Napoleon, always Napoleon was to be seen.

In consequence of this remark, he observed, that he had determined on draining the Pontine marshes, "Cæsar," he said, "was about to undertake it, when he perished." Then reverting to France "The Kings," he said, "had too many country houses and useless objects. Any impartial historian will be justified in blaming Louis XIV for his excessive and idle expenditure at Versailles, involved as he was in wars, taxes, and calamities. He exhausted himself for the purpose of forming after all but a bastard town." The Emperor then analyzed the advantages of an administrative town, that is to say, calculated for the union of the different branches of administration, and they seemed to him truly problematical.

THE EMPEROR assured us, that he experienced every possible difficulty in making his system of budgets intelligible, and in carrying it into execution. "Whenever a plan to the amount of thirty millions, which suited me, was proposed, granted, was my answer, but to be wound up in twenty years, that is to say, at 1,500,000 francs a year. So far, all went on very smoothly, but what am I to get, I added, for my first year? For if my expenditure is to be divided into parts, it is, however, my determination to have the result, the work entire and complete. In this manner, I wished at first for a recess, an apartment, no matter what, but some-

thing perfect for my 1,500,000 francs. The architects seemed resolved not to comprehend my meaning; it narrowed their expansive views and their grand effects. They would, at once have willingly erected a whole facade, which must have remained for a long time useless, and thus involved me in immense disbursements, which, if interrupted, would have swallowed up every thing.

"It was in that manner, which was peculiar to myself, and in spite of so many political and military obstacles, that I executed so many undertakings. I added forty millions to the Crown effects, of which four millions, at least consisted of silver plate. How many palaces have I not repaired? Perhaps, too many; I return to that subject. Thanks to my mode of acting, I was enabled to inhabit Fontainebleau, within one year after the repairs were begun, and it cost me no more than 5 or 600,000 francs. If I have since expended six millions on it, that was merely the result of six years. It would have cost me much more in the course of time. My principal object was to make the expense light and imperceptible, and to give durability to the work.

"During my visits to Fontainebleau," said the Emperor, "from 12 to 1500 persons were invited and lodged, with every convenience, upwards of 3,000 might be entertained at dinner, and this cost the sovereign very little, in consequence of the admirable order and regularity established by Duroc. More than twenty or five-and-twenty princes, dignitaries, or ministers were obliged to keep their households there.

"I disapproved of the building of Versailles; but in my notions respecting Paris, and they were occasionally gigantic, I thought of making it useful and of converting it, in the course of time, into a kind of fauxbourg, an adjacent site, a point of view from the grand capital; and for the purpose of more effectually appropriating it to that end, I had con-

ceived a plan, of which I had a description sketched out

"It was my intention to expel from its beautiful thickets those nymphs, the productions of a wretched taste, and those ornaments a la Turcaret, and to replace them by panoramas, in masonry, of all the capitals, into which we had entered victorious, and of all the celebrated battles, which had rendered our arms illustrious. It would have been a collection of so many eternal monuments of our triumphs and our national glory, placed at the gate of the capital of Europe, which necessarily could not fail of being visited by the rest of the world"<sup>12</sup>

\* \* \* History will say that all these (improvements and enterprises) were accomplished in the midst of perpetual wars, without having recourse to any loan, and whilst the national debt was even diminishing every day, and that nearly fifty millions of taxes had been remitted. Very large sums still remained in his private treasure they were guaranteed to him by the treaty of Fontainebleau as the result of the savings affected on his civil list, and of his other private revenues. These sums were divided and did not go entirely into the public treasury, nor altogether into the treasury of France!<sup>13</sup>

THE most urgent wants of Corsica are the following 1stly, a good rural code which should protect agriculture against the incursions of cattle, and ordain the destruction of goats, 2ndly, the draining of the marshes, in order gradually to bring back the population to the sea shore, 3dly premiums for the purpose of encouraging the plantation and grafting of olive and mulberry trees, they should be double for the plantations made on the sea shore, 4thly, a just but severe police, a general and absolute privation of all arms, large

and small, such as stillettoes, poniards, etc.; 5thly, 200 places reserved exclusively for young Corsicans, in the lyceums, military schools, seminaries, veterinary schools, schools of agriculture, the arts and trades in France; 6thly, a regular exportation for the royal navy of building timber; and advantage should also be taken of this circumstance to found hamlets on the sea-shore, and on the skirts of the forests; for all the endeavours of the government should tend towards drawing the population down into the plains.<sup>14</sup>

“I INTENDED,” said he, “to have made two canals, one from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cario, and the other to the Mediterranean. I had the Red Sea surveyed, and found that its waters were thirty feet higher than the Mediterranean when they were highest, but only twenty-four at the lowest. My plan was to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal unless a low water, and this in the course of a distance of thirty leagues in its passage to the Mediterranean would have been of little consequence. Besides, I would have had some sluices made . . . The expense was calculated at eighteen millions of francs, and two years’ labour.”<sup>15</sup>



## VI

### NATIONAL CHARACTER AND INTERESTS OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES

" But we must only be understood to speak here of the mass, of that which constitutes public opinion "

NAPOLEON

THE breadth of Napoleon's mind, and his sagacity, operated to enable him to generalize and to seize upon the salient characteristics of a people, and he, on more than one occasion, warned his public officials to regard nations in the mass, to form a true conception of "that which constitutes public opinion "

As there are, however, various grand subdivisions in the composition of every nation, sweeping praise or condemnation must not only be inaccurate, but also unjust. Estimates thus formed result in misleading a public man, and in some instances bring about his undoing. Even as great a man as Napoleon, erred in this respect in some instances—notably in the case of the Spaniards and the Russians.

"ALL the French," said he, "are turbulent and disposed to rail, but they are not addicted to seditious combinations, still less to actual conspiracy. Their levity is so natural to them, their changes so sudden, that it may be said to be a national dishonour. They are mere weathercocks, the sport of the winds, it is true, but this vice is with them free from the calculations of interest, and that is their best excuse. But we must only be understood to speak here of the mass, of that which constitutes public opinion, for individual examples to the contrary have swarmed in our latter times,

that exhibit certain classes in the most disgusting state of meanness."

It was this knowledge of the national character, the Emperor continued, that had always prevented his having recourse to the High Court. It was instituted by our Constitution; the Council of State had even decreed its organization; but the Emperor felt all the danger of the bustle and agitation that such spectacles always produce. "Such a proceeding," he said, "was in reality an appeal to the public, and was always highly injurious to authority, when the accused gained the cause. A Ministry in England might sustain, without inconvenience, the effects of a decision against it under such circumstances; but a sovereign like me, and situated as I was, could not have suffered it without the utmost danger to public affairs: for this reason, I preferred having recourse to the ordinary tribunals. Mal-*evolence* often started objections to this; but nevertheless, among all those whom it was pleased to call victims, which of them, I ask you, has retained his popularity in our late struggles? They have taken care to justify me: all of them are faded in the national estimation."

The Emperor had reserved one article in the papers, that he might have my assistance in reading it; it referred to the carriage he lost at Waterloo: the great number of technical expressions rendered it too difficult for him. The editor gave a very circumstantial account of this carriage, with a minutely detailed inventory of all its contents; to this he sometimes added the most frivolous reflections. In mentioning a small liquor-case, he observed that the Emperor never forgot *himself*, but took care to want nothing; in noticing certain elegant appendages to his dressing-case, he added that it might be seen he made his toilette *comme il faut* (the expression was in French). These last words produced

a sensation in the Emperor, which certainly would not have been excited by a more important subject "How!" said he to me, with a mixture of disgust and pain, "these people of England, then, take me for some wild animal, have they really been led so far as this? or their —, who is a kind of Ox Apis, as I am assured, does he not pay that attention to his toilette that is considered proper by every person of any education among us?"

It is certain that I should have been a good deal puzzled to explain to him the writer's meaning Besides, it is known that the Emperor, of all people in the world, set the least value on his personal convenience, and studied it the least, but, on the other hand, and he acknowledged it with pleasure, there never was one for whom the devotion and attention of servants had been so diligent in that particular<sup>1</sup>

"LIBERAL ideas flourish in Great Britain, they enlighten America, and they are nationalized in France, and this may be called the tripod whence issues the light of the world! Liberal opinions will rule the universe They will become the faith, the religion, the morality of all nations, and in spite of all that may be advanced to the contrary, this memorable era will be inseparably connected with my name, for, after all, it cannot be denied that I kindled the torch and consecrated the principle, and now persecution renders me the Messiah Friends and enemies, all must acknowledge me to be the first soldier, the grand representative of the age Thus I shall for ever remain the leading star" <sup>2</sup>

THEN, turning to the subject of politics, he said, "You lost America by enfranchisement, you will lose India by invasion The first loss was perfectly natural, as children advance in years, they break their parental bonds But, for the Hindoos,

they are not advancing at all. They still remain children. The catastrophe, therefore, can only proceed from without. You are not aware of all the dangers with which you were threatened by my arms or my negotiations. As for my Continental system, you perhaps laughed at it?" "Sire," replied the Colonel, "we affected to do so, but all men of judgment felt the full force of it."—"Well," continued the Emperor, "I stood alone in my opinion on the Continent; and I was forced for the moment to employ violence every where. At length my plan began to be understood. The tree already bears its fruit. I made the beginning, time will do the rest . . . Had I maintained my power, I would have changed the course of trade, and the direction of industry. I had naturalized sugar and indigo in France, and I should have naturalized cotton, and many other articles of foreign produce. I should have knocked up the Colonies, if we had continued to be denied a share of them.

"With us the impulse was most powerful. National prosperity and science advanced beyond measure. Yet your Ministers proclaimed through all Europe that the French were overwhelmed with misery, and were retrograding to a state of barbarism. Thus the view of our internal prosperity strangely surprised the vulgar mass, and even disconcerted the more thinking portion of the European public. The strides of knowledge in France were gigantic. The ideas of the French people were every where properly directed and extended. We took pains to render science popular. I was informed that your countrymen were distinguished for their knowledge of chemistry; and yet I will not decide on which side of the water the most able chemists will be found."—"In France," said the Colonel immediately.

"It is of little importance," continued the Emperor; "but I maintain that in the mass of the French people there is

ten, and perhaps a hundred times more chemical knowledge than in England, because the manufacturing classes now employ that science in their daily labour. This was one of the characteristics of my school. Had I been allowed sufficient time, there would soon have been no such thing as trades in France, they would all have been converted into arts."<sup>3</sup>

"AMERICA," continued he, "was in all respects our proper asylum. It is an immense continent, possessing the advantages of a peculiar system of freedom. If a man be troubled with melancholy, he may get into a coach, and drive a thousand leagues, enjoying all the way the pleasure of a common traveler. In America you may be on a footing of equality with every one, you may, if you please, mingle with the crowd, without inconvenience, retaining your own manners, your own language, your own religion, etc."

"WHAT a fool I was to give myself up to you,"\* continued he, "I had a mistaken notion of your national character, I had formed a romantic idea of the English. There entered into it also a portion of pride. I disdained to give myself up to any of those sovereigns whose countries I had conquered, and whose capitals I had entered in triumph, and I determined to confide in you, whom I had never vanquished. Doctor, I am well punished for the good opinion I had of you, and for the confidence which I reposed in you, instead of giving myself up to my father-in-law, or to the emperor Alexander, either of whom would have treated me with the greatest respect."

THE Emperor then proceeded to compare the character of the English and French nations. "The higher classes among

\*Napoleon to Dr O'Meara.

the English," said he, "are proud; with us unfortunately they are only vain; in that consists the great characteristic distinction between the two nations. The mass of the people in France certainly possess a greater share of national feeling than any other now existing in Europe; they have profited by the experience of their twenty-five years revolution; but unfortunately that class which the revolution has advanced have not been found equal to the station of life to which they have been elevated; they have shown themselves corrupt and unstable; in the last struggles they have not been distinguished either by talents, firmness, or virtue; in short, they have degraded the honour of the nation."<sup>6</sup>

"IN ENGLAND, your machines are so numerous, that in a short time you would have had no occasion for hands. . . . But you were obliged to have recourse to the aid of machinery, because the necessities of life are twice as dear in England as on the continent, and your taxes six times greater, and also because other nations have them. Otherwise, you could not have sold your manufactures as cheap as they could, and consequently would not find purchasers."<sup>7</sup>

NAPOLEON entertained a high regard for the Germans. "I levied many millions of imposts on them, it is true," said he, "that was necessary; but I should never have insulted them or treated them with contempt. I esteemed the Germans. They may hate me; that is natural enough. I was forced for ten years to fight over the dead bodies of their countrymen. They could not know my real designs or give me credit for my ultimate intentions, which were calculated to render Germany a great Nation."

THE Emperor, alluding to one of his decisions, remarked:

—"I could do nothing in that case. I suffered myself to be moved, and I yielded. There I was wrong: A statesman's heart should be in his head."

THE Emperor directed particular attention to the improvement and embellishment of the markets of the capital. He used to say, "The market-place is the Louvre of the common people." Equality of rights, that is to say, the power of aspiring and obtaining, enjoyed by all individuals, was one of the points to which Napoleon attached particular importance. This regard for equality was one of his peculiar traits, and seemed to belong innately to his character. "I have not reigned all my life," he would say: "before I became a Sovereign, I recollect having been a subject; and I can never forget how powerfully the sentiment of equality influences the mind, and animates the heart."<sup>8</sup>

"You were greatly offended with me for having called you a *nation of shopkeepers*. Had I meant by this that you were a nation of cowards, you would have had reason to be displeased; even though it were ridiculous and contrary to historical facts; but no such thing was ever intended. I meant that you were a nation of merchants, and that all your great riches, and your grand resources arose from commerce, which is true. What else constitutes the riches of England? It is not extent of territory, or a numerous population. It is not in mines of gold, silver, or diamonds. Moreover no man of sense ought to be ashamed of being called a shopkeeper. But your prince and your ministers appear to wish to change altogether l'esprit of the English, and to render you another nation; to make you ashamed of your shops and your trade which have made you what you are, and to sigh after nobility, titles, and crosses; in fact, to assimilate you

with the French. What other object can there be in all those cordons, crosses, and honours, which are so profusely showered. You are all nobility now, instead of the plain old Englishmen. You are ashamed of yourselves, and want to be a nation of nobility and *gentlemen*. Nothing is to be seen or heard of now in England, but 'Sir John,' and 'my lady.' All those things did very well with me in France, because they were conformable to the spirit of the nation; but believe me it is contrary both to the spirit and the interest of England. Stick to your ships, your commerce, and counting-houses, and leave cordons, crosses, and cavalry uniforms to the continent, and you will prosper."<sup>9</sup>

"IT WOULD," continued Napoleon, "have been a very easy matter to have made the French and English good friends and love one another. The French always esteemed the English for their national qualities, and where esteem exists, love will soon follow, if proper measures be pursued; they are very nearly akin. I myself have done much mischief to England, and had it in contemplation to do much more, if you continued the war; but I never ceased to esteem you. I had then a much better opinion of you that I now have. I thought that there was much more liberty, much more independence of spirit, and much more generosity in England than there is, or I never would have ventured upon the step I have taken."<sup>10</sup>

AFTER which he said, that were he in England, he would always leave with the ladies. "It appears to me," said he, "that you do not pay regard enough to the ladies. If your object is to converse instead of to drink, why not allow them to be present. Surely conversation is never so lively or so witty as when ladies take a part in it. If I were an English-



woman, I should feel very discontented at being turned out by the men to wait for two or three hours while they were guzzling their wine. Now in France society is nothing unless ladies are present. They are the life of conversation."

I endeavored to make it appear that our conversation after dinner frequently turned upon politics and other matters, with which ladies seldom meddled; moreover, that in well-regulated societies, the gentlemen soon followed them. This did not, however, satisfy him. He maintained that it was a custom which could not be justified, that women were necessary to civilize and to soften the other sex."

IN AN audience given at St. Cloud, in December 1803, Napoleon told the Swiss delegates that he was convinced that, for their country, federalism was preferable to pure democracy. For his position on this matter, he presented in detail, his reasons. In reading them, the student of his career will be impressed both by the thoroughness of his grasp of the fundamental principles of the two systems and his lucid presentation of them.

## VII.

### OPINIONS REGARDING INDIVIDUALS

"And after all, history is only made up of reports, which gain credit by repetition. Because it has been repeatedly affirmed that these were great men, who deserved well of their country, they will at length pass for such, and their adversaries will be despised."

NAPOLEON

NAPOLEON's power of insight enabled him to form, as a general rule, a correct estimate of both character and ability. His eye and his searching questions, together with intuition, rarely failed to enable him to penetrate into the innermost recesses of the human mind and heart. His study of history, also, had familiarized him with the careers and characters of the great men of past ages. The devotion which was paid him by those in whom he reposed confidence, was often and heartily acknowledged and handsomely rewarded. His greatest grief, when his wonderful career was about to close, was experienced in witnessing ingratitude on the part of many persons from whom he felt he had a right to expect loyalty and the highest consideration.

AND here I must observe, that since I have become acquainted with the Emperor's character, I have never known him to evince for a single moment, the least feeling of anger or animosity against those individuals who had been most to blame in their conduct towards him. He gives no great credit to those who distinguished themselves by their good conduct: they had only done their duty. He is not very indignant against those who acted basely; he partly saw through their characters: they yielded to the impulses of their nature. He speaks of them coolly, and without ani-

mosity; attributing their conduct in some measure to existing circumstances, which he acknowledged were of a very perplexing nature, and threw the rest to the account of human weakness. Vanity was the ruin of Marmont: "Posterity will justly cast a shade upon his character," said he; "yet his heart will be more valued than the memory of his career. The conduct of Augereau was the result of his want of information, and the baseness of those who surrounded him; that of Berthier, of his want of spirit, and his absolute nullity of character."

I remarked, that the latter had let slip the best and easiest opportunity of rendering himself for ever illustrious, by frankly rendering his submission to the King, and entreating his Majesty's permission to withdraw from the world, and mourn in solitude the fate of him who had honoured him with the title of his companion in arms, and had called him his friend. "Yes," said the Emperor: "even this step, simple as it was, was beyond his power." "His talents, his understanding," said I, "had always been a subject of doubt with us. Your Majesty's choice, your confidence, your great attachment, surprised us exceedingly." "To say the truth," replied the Emperor, "Berthier was not without talent, and I am far from wishing to disavow his merit, or my partiality for him; but his talent and merit were special and technical; beyond a limited point he had no mind whatever: and then he was so undecided."

I observed, that "he was, notwithstanding, full of pretensions and pride in his conduct towards us." "Do you think, then, that the title of Favourite stands for nothing?" said the Emperor. I added that "he was very harsh and overbearing."—"And what," said he, "my dear Las Cases, is more overbearing than weakness which feels itself protected by strength? Look at women, for example."

TO GENERAL SAVARY, DUC DE ROVIGO, MINISTER OF POLICE

Dresden, 7th August, 1813.

I have your letter of 2nd August. I am really distressed by what you write me about poor Junot. He forfeited my esteem during the last campaign; but that did not prevent my still feeling a regard for him. He has regained my esteem now, for I see his cowardice, then, was already caused by his illness. I approve all the proposals you submit to me. See the Grand Chancellor, to whom I am writing. There will be no difficulty about placing the two young girls at Ecoeu. You do not tell me the two children's ages.

Speak to the Grand Chancellor, too, about the Duchess of Istria, and find out what will have to be done to settle her affairs. I intend to help her also.<sup>2</sup>

M. DE COBENTZEL was expected at Paris, and his arrival was spoken of. Madame Bonaparte said that she heard some one observe upon the astonishing resemblance between Count Louis de Cobentzel and Mirabeau. "Who said that?" asked the First Consul hastily. "I do not exactly recollect. Barras, I think." "And where had Barras seen M. de Cobentzel? Mirabeau! he was ugly; M. de Cobentzel is ugly—there is all the resemblance. *Eh, par-dieu!* you know him, Junot; you were with him at our famous treaty, and Duroc, too. But you never saw Mirabeau. He was a rogue, but a clever rogue! he himself did more mischief to the former masters of this house than the States-General altogether. But he was a rogue." Here he took a pinch of snuff, repeating, "He was a bad man, and too vicious to be tribune of the people; not but in my tribumat there were some no better than he, and without half his talent. As for Count Louis de Cobentzel—" <sup>3</sup>

"BUT no," continued the Emperor, "he is right, the best diplomacy is to go straight to the object. And then he is a brave man. Be particular in your attentions to him in your quality of Governor of Paris, do you understand me?" This man was M. de Bubna.

#### LETTER TO THE DIRECTORY WHILE IN ITALY

As it might happen that this letter to the Directory may be badly construed, and since you have assured me of your friendship, I take this opportunity of addressing you, begging you to make what use of it your prudence and attachment for me may suggest—Kellermann will command the army as well as I, for no one is more convinced than I am that the victories are due to the courage and pluck of the army, but I think joining Kellermann and myself in Italy is to lose everything. I cannot serve willingly with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe, and besides, I believe one bad general is better than two good ones. War is like government: it is an affair of tact. To be of any use, I must enjoy the same confidence that you testified to me in Paris. Where I make war, here or there, is a matter of indifference. To serve my country, to deserve from posterity a page in our history, to give the Government proofs of my attachment and devotion—that is the sum of my ambition.

BERTHIER—"Talents, activity, courage, character, he has them all."

AUGEREAU—"Much character, courage, firmness, activity, is accustomed to war, beloved by the soldiers, lucky in his operations."

MASSENA—"Active, indefatigable, has boldness, grasp, and promptitude in making his decisions."

SERRURIER—"Fights like a soldier, takes no responsibility; determined, has not much opinion of his troops, is often ailing."

DESPINOIS—"Flabby, inactive, slack, has not the genius for war, is not liked by the soldiers, does not fight with his head; has nevertheless good, sound political principles; would do well to command in the interior."

SAURET—"A good, very good soldier, not sufficiently enlightened to be a general; unlucky."

ON February 7th 1800, he orders ten days' military mourning for the death of Washington—that "great man who, like the French, had fought for equality and liberty."<sup>4</sup>

NAPOLEON met the Archduke Charles at Stammersdorf, a meeting arranged from mutual esteem. Napoleon had an unswerving admiration for this past and future foe, and said to Madame d'Abrantes, "That man has a soul, a golden heart." Napoleon, however, did not wish to discuss politics, and only arranged for an interview of two hours, "one of which," he wrote Talleyrand, "will be employed in dining, the other in talking war and mutual protestations."

ON the day preceding his final departure from Malmaison, he sent for Lafitte the banker, and he conversed with him with the most perfect composure on the state of public affairs. He lodged in Lafitte's hands a deposit of eight hundred thousand francs in specie, and about three millions in bonds and *rentes*. He would not accept any acknowledgment of the receipt of these vast sums, though M. Lafitte earnestly entreated him to do so. When speaking to me on the subject of these arrangements, the Emperor said:—"I would with equal readiness have entrusted the finances of

the empire to M Lafitte I know he not favorable to my government, but I also know him to be an honest man' This was a high eulogy on the banker, in the mouth of Napoleon, who entertained a most decided prejudice against what he termed *maltotiers* <sup>5</sup>

He began to converse about the intelligence contained in the French papers which he had just received, and alluded to the statues, which, it was stated, were to be erected to the memory of Moreau and Pichegru "A statue to Moreau," said he, "whose conspiracy in 1803 is now so well proved! Moreau, who, in 1813, died fighting under the Russian standard! A monument to the memory of Pichegru, who was guilty of one of the most heinous of crimes! who purposely suffered himself to be defeated, and who connived with the enemy in the slaughter of his own troops! And after all," continued he, "history is only made up of reports which gain credit by repetition Because it has been repeatedly affirmed that these were great men, who deserved well of their country, they will at length pass for such, and their adversaries will be despised" <sup>6</sup>

"In 1649," said he, "Turenne commanded the royal army, which command had been conferred on him by Anne of Austria, the Regent of the kingdom Though he had taken the oath of fidelity, yet he bribed his troops, and declared himself for the Fronde, and marched on Paris But when he was declared guilty of high treason, his repentant army forsook him, and Turenne took refuge with the Prince of Hesse, to avoid the pursuit of justice Ney, on the contrary, was urged by the unanimous wish and outcry of his army Only nine months had elapsed since he had acknowledged a monarch, who had been preceded by six hundred thousand

foreign bayonets; a monarch who had not accepted the constitution presented to him by the Senate, as the formal and necessary condition of his return, and who, by declaring that he had reigned nineteen years, proved that he regarded all preceding governments as usurpations. Ney, whose education had taught him to respect the national sovereignty, had fought for five-and-twenty years to support that cause; and, from a private soldier, had raised himself to the rank of marshal. If his conduct on the 20th of March was not honourable, it is at least explicable, and in some respects pardonable; but Turenne was absolutely criminal, because the Fronde was the ally of Spain, which was then at war with his sovereign, and because he had been prompted by his own interest and that of his family, in the hope of obtaining a sovereignty at the expense of France, and consequently to the prejudice of his country.”

THE conduct of Marshal Ney has been compared to Marshal Turenne. Turenne acted from calculation, and moved by the ambition of ruling the councils of the regency, when forgetting his oath to Anne of Austria, and declaring himself in favour of the opposite party, he marched upon Paris. Ney did nothing similar to this. A child of the revolution, he had risen through all the grades while fighting for it, during a period of twenty-five years. The confidence of the king was an accident in his career. The nation recalled him to their ranks; he obeyed the influence of all the recollections of his life and of his own glory; he did what all France did—again became a man of the revolution; in short, he obeyed the national impulse, to which Louis XVIII himself yielded six days afterwards. The condemnation of Marshal Ney was a judicial assassination. Even had he been guilty, all the great services which he had rendered to



his country ought to have protected him, and arrested the hand of justice

France owes Marshal Ney a brilliant testimony of her sorrow and gratitude. He saved, by his unequalled energy, 60,000 Frenchmen who, had it not been for him, would never have recrossed the Niemen. Sooner or later the nation will raise statues to him.<sup>8</sup>

"He (Ney) was a brave man, nobody more so, but he was a madman," said he. "He died without having the esteem of mankind. He betrayed me at Fontainebleau the proclamation against the Bourbons which he said in his defence I caused to be given to him, was written by himself, and I never knew any thing about that document until it was read to the troops. It is true, that I sent him orders to obey me. What could he do? His troops abandoned him. Not only the troops, but the people wished to join me."<sup>9</sup>

THE Emperor spoke also of the last moments of Marshal Lannes, the valiant Duke of Montebello, so justly called the Orlando of the army, who, when visited by the Emperor on his death bed, seemed to forget his own situation, and to care only for him, whom he loved above every thing. The Emperor had the highest esteem for him. "He was for a long time a mere fighting man," said he, 'but he afterwards became an officer of the first talents.' Some one then said, he should like to know what line of conduct Lannes would have pursued in these latter times, if he had lived. "We have learned," said the Emperor, "not to swear to anything. Yet I cannot conceive that it could have been possible for him to deviate from the path of duty and honour. Besides, it is bard to imagine that he could have existed. With all his bravery, he would unquestionably have got killed in

some of the last affairs, or at least sufficiently wounded to be laid up out of the centre and influence of events. And if he had remained disposable, he was a man capable of changing the whole face of affairs by his own weight and influence."

The Emperor next mentioned Duroc, on whose character and private life he dwelt some time. "Duroc," concluded he, "had lively, tender, and concealed passions, little corresponding with the coldness of his manner. It was long before I knew this, so exact and regular was his service. It was not until my day was entirely closed and finished, and I was enjoying repose, that Duroc's work began.—Chance, or some accident, could alone have made me acquainted with his character. He was a pure and virtuous man, utterly disinterested, and extremely generous."<sup>10</sup>

"As to the Emperor Francis, his good-nature is well known, and makes him constantly the dupe of the designing. His son will be like him.

"The King of Prussia, as a private character, is an honourable, good, and worthy man; but, in his political capacity he is naturally disposed to yield to necessity: he is always commanded by, whosoever has power on his side, and seems about to strike.

"As to the Emperor of Russia, he is a man infinitely superior to these: he possesses wit, grace, information, is fascinating; but he is not to be trusted; he is devoid of candour, a true *Greek of the Lower Empire*. At the same time he is not without ideology, real or assumed:—after all it may only be a smattering; derived from his education and his preceptor. Would you believe," said the Emperor, "what I had to discuss with him? He maintained that inheritance was an abuse in monarchy, and I had to spend more than

an hour, and employ all my eloquence and logic, in proving to him that this right constituted the peace and happiness of the people. It may be, too, that he was mystifying; for he is cunning, false, and expert, . . . he can go a great length. If I die here, he will be my real heir in Europe. I alone was able to stop him with his deluge of Tartars. The crisis is great, and will have lasting effects upon the Continent of Europe, especially upon Constantinople: he was solicitous with me for the possession of it. I have had much coaxing on this subject; but I constantly turned a deaf ear to it. That empire, shattered as it appeared, would constantly have remained a point of separation between us: it was the marsh, that prevented my right being turned.<sup>21</sup>

THE Emperor remarked that Fouche was the T— of the clubs, and that T— was the Fouche of the drawing-rooms. "Intrigue," he said, "was to Fouche a necessary of life. He intrigued at all times, in all places, in all ways, and with all persons. Nothing ever came to light, but he was found to have had a hand in it. He made it his sole business to look out for something that he might be meddling with. His mania was to wish to be concerned in every thing. . . .! Always in every body's shoes." This the Emperor would often repeat.<sup>22</sup>

"LORD CORNWALLIS," said the Emperor, "is the first Englishman that gave me, in good earnest, a favourable opinion of his nation; after him Fox, and I might add to these, if it were necessary, our present Admiral (Malcolm).

"Cornwallis was, in every sense of the word, a worthy, good and honest man. At the time of the treaty of Amiens, the terms having been agreed upon, he had promised to sign the next day at a certain hour; something of consequence

detained him at home, but he pledged his word. The evening of that same day, a courier arrived from London proscribing certain articles of the treaty, but he answered that he had signed, and immediately came and actually signed. We understood each other perfectly well; I had placed a regiment at his disposal, and he took pleasure in seeing its manoeuvres. I have preserved an agreeable recollection of him in every respect, and it is certain that a request from him would have had more weight with me, perhaps, than one from a crowned head. His family appears to have guessed this to be the case; some requests have been made to me in its name, which have all been granted.

"Fox came to France immediately after the peace of Amiens. He was employed in writing a history of the Stuarts and asked my permission to search our diplomatical archives. I gave orders that every thing should be placed at his disposal. I received him often. Fame had informed me of his talents, and I soon found that he possessed a noble character, a good heart, liberal, generous and enlightened views. I considered him an ornament to mankind, and was very much attached to him. We often conversed together, upon various topics without the least prejudice; when I wished to engage in a little controversy, I turned the conversation upon the subject of the machine infernale; and told him that his ministers had attempted to murder me; he would then oppose my opinion with warmth, and invariably ended the conversation by saying, in his bad French, 'First Consul, pray take that out of your head.' But he was not convinced of the truth of the cause he undertook to advocate, and there is every reason to believe that he argued more in defense of his country, than of the morality of its ministers."

THE Emperor ended the conversation, by saying: "Half a dozen such men at Fox and Cornwallis would be sufficient to establish the moral character of a nation . . . With such men I should always have agreed; we should soon have settled our differences, and not only France would have been at peace with a nation at bottom most worthy of esteem, but we should have done great things together."<sup>13</sup>

HE had just finished reading the History of the Constituent Assembly, by Rabeau de St. Etienne. He entertained very nearly the same opinion of this writer, as of Lacretelle. He then took occasion to notice several characters. "Bailli," he said, "was not a bad man, but unquestionably a miserable politician.

"Lafayette was another simpleton, and by no means formed for the eminent character he wished to represent. His political simplicity was such, that he could not avoid being the constant dupe of men and things.

"All was lost on my return from Waterloo, by his insurrection of the chambers. Who could have persuaded him, that I had arrived merely for the purpose of dissolving them;—I, whose only safety was centered in them?"

One of the party saying, by way of excuse or extenuation: "It was, however, sire, the same man, who, treating afterwards with the allies, was filled with indignation at their proposal of delivering up your Majesty, and eagerly asked, if it was to the prisoner of Olmutz, they dared to address themselves?"—"But, sir," replied the Emperor, "you run from one subject to another, or rather, you concur with, instead of opposing my opinion. I have not attacked the sentiments or intentions of M. de Lafayette; I have only complained of their fatal results."

The Emperor then continued, in the same way, to review

the leading men of that period. He dwelt at considerable length on the affair of Favras.

"THE Queen of Prussia," said the Emperor, "was unquestionably gifted with many happy resources; she possessed a great deal of information, and had many excellent capabilities. It was she who really reigned for more than fifteen years. She also, in spite of my dexterity and all my exertions, took the lead in conversation, and constantly maintained the ascendancy. She touched, perhaps, too often upon her favourite topic, but she did so, however, with great plausibility and without giving the slightest cause of uneasiness. It must be confessed that she had an important object in view, and that the time was short and precious."

MURAT is ardent, brilliant in the field of battle. He possesses dauntless courage; but he is totally devoid of judgment. To know when to stop is sometimes the best proof of understanding. Murat has not common sense.<sup>14</sup>

THE Emperor in some measure regretted that Sieyes had not been nominated one of the consuls. Sieyes, who at first refused the appointment, afterwards regretted it himself, but not until it was too late. "He had fallen into a mistake respecting the nature of these consuls," said Napoleon; "he was fearful of mortification, and of having the first consul to contend with at every step; which would have been the case, if all the consuls had been equal; we should then have all been enemies: but the constitution having made them subordinate, there was no room for the struggles of obstinacy, no cause of enmity, but a thousand reasons for a genuine unanimity. Sieyes discovered this, but too late." The Emperor said, he might have been very useful in council

—better, perhaps, than the others, because he had occasionally novel and most luminous ideas, but that, in other respects, he was wholly unfit to govern “After all,” said the Emperor, “in order to govern it is necessary to be a military man, one can only rule in boots and spurs Sieyes, without being fearful, was always in fear, his police spies disturbed his rest” At the Luxembourg during the provisional consulate, he often awakened his colleague Napoleon, and harassed him about the new plots which he heard of every moment from his private police

“But have they corrupted our guard?” Napoleon used to say “No” “Then go to bed—In war, as in love, my dear sir, we must come to close quarters to conclude matters It will be time enough to be alarmed when our 600 men are attacked”<sup>15</sup>

“MAITLAND,” said Napoleon, “was not an accomplice in the snare that was laid for me by your ministers, when they gave him orders to receive me on board of his ship He is, *un brave homme*, and incapable of participating in the infamous transaction that took place He was deceived, as well as myself and probably in bringing me to England, thought that I should have been allowed to live there, subject to such restrictions as had been imposed upon my brother Lucien”<sup>16</sup>

HE had just read the history of Catherine “She was,” he said, “a commanding woman, she was worthy of having a beard upon her chin The catastrophes of Peter and that of Paul, were seraglio revolutions, the work of janissaries These palace soldiers are terrible, and dangerous in the proportion as the Sovereign is absolute My imperial guard might also have become fatal, under any one but myself”<sup>17</sup>

HE then spoke of some English officers: "Moore," said he, "was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent. He made a few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and caused perhaps by his information having misled him." This eulogium he repeated more than once.<sup>18</sup>

"ROBESPIERRE," said he, "though a blood-thirsty monster, was not so bad as Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, Hebert, Fouquier Tinville, and many others. Latterly Robespierre wished to be more moderate."<sup>19</sup>

M. DE TALLEYRAND, to whose conduct the Emperor frequently alluded, for the purpose of discovering, he said, when he had really begun to betray him, had strongly urged him to make peace, on his return from Leipsic. "I must," he observed, "to do him that justice. He found fault with my speech to the senate, but warmly approved of that, which I made to the legislative body. He uniformly maintained, that I deceived myself with respect to the energy of the nation; that it would not co-operate with mine, and that it was requisite for me to arrange my affairs by every possible sacrifice. It appears, that he was then sincere. I never, from my own experience, found Talleyrand eloquent or persuasive. He dwelt a great deal, and a long time on the same idea. Perhaps also, as our acquaintance was of old date, he behaved in a peculiar manner to me. He was, however, so skilful in his evasions and ramblings, that after conversations which lasted several hours, he has gone away, frequently avoiding the explanations and objects I expected to obtain from him on his coming in."<sup>20</sup>



"I AM inclined," continued Napoleon, "to doubt very much what has been said of Cromwell. It has been asserted that he always wore armour, and continually changed his abode, through fear of assassination. Now both these assertions have been made of me, and both I know to be false, as were most likely those imputing the same to him."<sup>21</sup>

AFTER going through several subjects of conversation, the Emperor spoke of Baron Larrey, on whom he passed the highest encomium, saying that Larrey had left the impression on his mind of a true honest man, that to science he united, in the highest degree, the virtue of active philanthropy. he looked upon all the wounded as belonging to his family every consideration gave way before the care which he bestowed upon the hospitals. "In our first campaigns under the Republic, which have been so much recited," said the Emperor, "a most unfortunate revolution took place in the surgical department, which has since spread to all the armies of Europe, and to Larrey it is, in great measure, that mankind is indebted for it. The surgeon now shares the dangers of the soldier. it is in the midst of the fire that he devotes his cares to him. Larrey possesses all my esteem and my gratitude."<sup>22</sup>

ON asking Napoleon his opinion of Baron Stein, he replied, "A patriot, a man of talent, and a busy, stirring character." I observed, that I had heard it asserted that Stein had done him more mischief than Metternich, or indeed any other person, and had been mainly instrumental to his fall. "Not at all," replied Napoleon, "he was certainly a man of talent, but had his advice been followed, the King of Prussia would have been ruined past all redemption, Stein was always hatching intrigues, and wanted Prussia to declare pre-

maturely against me; which would have caused her destruction."<sup>23</sup>

\* \* \* He said he had seen the new Admiral.\* "Ah, there is a man with a countenance really pleasing, open, intelligent, frank and sincere. There is the face of an Englishman. His countenance bespeaks his heart, and I am sure he is a good man: I never yet beheld a man of whom I so immediately formed a good opinion as of that fine soldier-like old man. His physiognomy would make every person desirous of a further acquaintance, and render the most suspicious confident in him."<sup>24</sup>

"WHETHER it be the effect of admiration and gratitude, or the result of mere instinct and sympathy, Pitt is, and will continue to be, the idol of the European aristocracy. There was, indeed, a touch of the Sylla in his character. His system has kept the popular cause in check, and brought about the triumph of the patricians. As to Fox, one must not look for his model among the ancients. He is himself a model, and his principles will sooner or later rule the world."<sup>25</sup>

"HE (Soul) is an excellent minister at war, a major-general of an army: one who knows much better the arrangement of an army than to command in chief." . . . .

"Moreau," said he, "was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. With a hundred thousand men, Moreau would divide his army in different positions, covering roads, and would not do more than if he had only thirty thousand. He did not know how to profit either by the number of his troops, or by their positions.

Very calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to command in the heat of an action than to make dispositions prior to it. As a general, Moreau was infinitely inferior to Desaix, or to Kleber, or even to Soult. Of all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents, especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved glory, inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures, whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised everything else. Desaix was wholly wrapt up in war and glory. He was intended by nature for a great general.

"He (Lames) was a man of uncommon bravery, cool in the midst of fire, and possessed of a clear and penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. As a general he was greatly superior to Moreau or to Soult.

"Massena," said he, "was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previous to a battle, and it was not until the dead fell around him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army."

"As a general, Pichegru was a man of no ordinary talent, far superior to Moreau, although he had never done anything extraordinarily great."<sup>26</sup>

#### NAPOLEON'S PARTING LETTER TO LAS CASES IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HIS DEVOTION TO HIM AT ST. HELENA

My dear Count de Las Cases,—My heart is deeply affected by what you now experience. Torn from me a fortnight ago, you have been ever since closely confined, without the possibility of my receiving any news from you, or sending

you any; without having had any communication with any person, either French or English, deprived even of the attendance of a servant of your own choice.

Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like the whole of your life, honourable and irreproachable; I have pleasure in giving you this testimony.

Your letter to one of your friends in London contains nothing reprehensible; you merely unburden your heart in the bosom of friendship.

Your company was necessary to me. You are the only one that can read, speak and understand English. How many nights you have watched over me during my illnesses. However, I advise you, and if necessary, I order you to demand of the Governor of this country to send you to the Continent; he cannot refuse, since he has no power over you, but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily accepted. It will be a great source of consolation to me, to know that you are on your way to more favored climes.

Once in Europe, whether you proceed to England or return home, endeavor to forget the evils which you have been made to suffer; and boast of the fidelity which you have shewn towards me, and of all the affection I feel for you.

If you should some day or other, see my wife and son, embrace them for me; for the last two years, I have had no news from them, either directly or indirectly.

In the mean time be comforted, and console my friends. My body, it is true, is exposed to the hatred of my enemies; they omit nothing that can contribute to satisfy their vengeance; they make me suffer the protracted tortures of a slow death: but Providence is too just to allow these sufferings to last much longer. The insalubrity of this dreadful climate, the want of every thing that tends to support life, will soon, I feel, put an end to my existence.

As there is every reason to suppose that you will not be allowed to come and see me before your departure, receive my embrace, and the assurance of my friendship May you be happy <sup>27</sup>

Yours,

NAPOLEON

THE talents requisite in a good general then came under his his observation "The mind of a general ought to resemble and be as clear as the field glass of a telescope, *et jamais se faire des tableaux* Of all the generals who preceded him, and perhaps all those who have followed, Turenne was the greatest Marechal Saxe, a mere general, *pas d'esprit*, Luxembourg, *beaucoup*, *le grand Frederic*, *beaucoup*, and a quick and ready perception of everything Your Marlborough, besides being a great general, *avait aussi beaucoup d'esprit* Judging from Wellington's actions, from his despatches, and above all from his conduct towards Ney, I should pronounce him to be *un homme de peu d'esprit sans generasité, et sans grandeur d'âne* Such I know to be the opinion of Benjamin Constant and of Madame de Stael, who said, that except as a general, he had not two ideas As a general, however, to find his equal amongst your own nation, you must go back to the time of Marlborough, but as to anything else, I think that history will pronounce him to be *un homme barne* <sup>28</sup>

RECOUNTED to the emperor the treatment I\* had experienced yesterday at Plantation House "I do not believe," said he, "that in all the armies of Europe a man of so ignoble a character† could be found It is the height of baseness for a

\* Dr O Meara.

† Sir Hudson Lowe

superior to insult officially an inferior. This man's disposition makes him like a person afflicted with an inveterate itch; he has need of continually rubbing against something."

"You will express the sentiments which I preserve for them," added he. "You will bear my affections to my good Louise, to my excellent mother, and to Pauline. If you see my son, embrace him for me; may he never forget that he was born a French prince! Testify to Lady Holland the sense I entertain of her kindness, and the esteem which I bear to her. Finally, endeavor to send me authentic intelligence of the manner in which my son is educated." The emperor then shook me by the hand, and embraced me, saying, "*Adieu, O'Meara, nous ne nous reverrons jamais encore. Soyez heureux.*"<sup>29</sup>

"BERNADOTTE," said he, "was ungrateful to me as I was the author of his greatness; but I cannot say that he betrayed me; he in a manner became a Swede, and never promised that which he did not intend to perform. I can accuse him of ingratitude, but not of treachery. Neither Murat nor he would have declared against me, had they thought that it would have lost me my throne. The wish was to diminish my power, but not to destroy me altogether."<sup>30</sup>

## VIII

### HISTORY

We have no good history, and we could not have any, and the other nations of Europe are in nearly the same predicament as ourselves"

NAPOLEON

DURING the formative period of his life, Napoleon was a great reader. History and biography were his favorites. He did not merely read such books—he studied them, and furthermore, he meditated in solitude over what he had read. Being gifted with a retentive memory, a strong intellect, a lively imagination and fired with the ambition to become distinguished, he thus laid the foundation for his future renown. His interest in literature and his thirst for knowledge ceased only when that great mind was becoming clouded by the approaching failure of his bodily powers. (*His private library at Paris comprised upwards of 5,000 volumes*)

"In contemporary, as in historical facts," Napoleon has said, "lessons may be found, but rarely models"

THE Gracchi gave rise to doubts and suspicions of a different sort in his mind, which, he said, became almost certainties to those who had been engaged in the politics of our times. "History," said he, "presents these Gracchi, in the aggregate, as seditious people, revolutionists, criminals, and, nevertheless, allows it to appear in detail, that they had virtues, that they were gentle, disinterested, moral men, and, besides they were the sons of the illustrious Cornelia which, to great minds, ought to be a strong primary presumption in their favour. How then can such a contrast be accounted for?"

It is thus: the Gracchi generously devoted themselves for the rights of the oppressed people, against a tyrannical senate; and their great talents and noble character endangered a ferocious aristocracy, which triumphed, murdered, and calumniated them. The historians of a party have transmitted their characters in the same spirit. Under the Emperors it was necessary to continue in the same manner; the bare mention of the rights of the people, under a despotic master, was a blasphemy, a downright crime. Afterwards the case was the same under the feudal system, which was so fruitful in petty despots. Such, no doubt, is the fatality which has attended the memory of the Gracchi. Throughout succeeding ages their virtues have never ceased to be considered crimes; but at this day, when, possessed of better information, we have thought it expedient to reason, the Gracchi may and ought to find favour in our eyes.

“In that terrible struggle between the aristocracy and democracy, which has been renewed in our times—in that exasperation of ancient territory against modern industry, which still ferments throughout Europe, there is no doubt but that if the aristocracy should triumph by force, it would point out many Gracchi in all directions, and treat them in future as mercifully as its predecessors have done the Gracchi of Rome.”<sup>1</sup>

Dictated by Napoleon to Count Las Cases

“Both in France and England the storm gathered during the two feeble and indolent reigns of James I and Louis XV, and burst over the heads of the unfortunate Charles I and Louis XVI.

“Both these Sovereigns fell victims: both perished on the scaffold, and their families were proscribed and banished.

“Both monarchies became republics, and during that



period, both nations plunged into every excess which can degrade the human heart and understanding. They were disgraced by scenes of madness, blood, and outrage. Every tie of humanity was broken, and every principle overturned.

"Both in England and France, at this period, two men vigorously stemmed the torrent, and reigned with splendour. After these, the two hereditary families were restored, but both pursued an erroneous course. They committed faults, a fresh storm suddenly burst forth in both countries, and expelled the two restored dynasties, without their being able to offer the least resistance to the adversaries who overthrew them.

"In this singular parallel Napoleon appears to have been in France at once the Cromwell and the William III of England. But as every comparison with Cromwell is in some degree odious, I must add, that if these two celebrated men coincided in one single circumstance of their lives, it was scarcely possible for two beings to differ more in every other point.

"Cromwell appeared on the theatre of the world at the age of maturity. He attained supreme rank only by dint of address, duplicity, and hypocrisy.

"Napoleon distinguished himself at the very dawn of manhood, and his first steps were attended by the purest glory.

"Cromwell attained supreme power, opposed and hated by all parties, and by affixing an everlasting stain on the English revolution.

"Napoleon, on the contrary, ascended the throne by obliterating the stains of the French revolution, and through the concurrence of all parties, who in turn sought to gain him as their chief.

"All the glory of Cromwell was bought by English blood, his triumphs were all so many causes of national mourning,

but Napoleon's victories were gained over the foreign foe, and they filled the French nation with transport.

"Finally the death of Cromwell was a source of joy, to all England: the event was regarded as a public deliverance. The same cannot exactly be said of Napoleon's fall.

"In England the revolution was the rising of the whole nation against the King. The King had violated the laws, and usurped absolute power; and the nation wished to resume her rights.

"In France, the revolution was the rising of one portion of the nation against another; that of the third estate against the nobility; it was the re-action of the Gauls against the Franks. The King was attacked not so much in his character of monarch as in his quality of chief of the feudal system. He was not reproached with having violated the laws; but the nation wished to emancipate and reconstitute itself.

"In England, if Charles I had yielded voluntarily, if he had possessed the moderate and undecided character of Louis XVI, he would have survived.

"In France, on the contrary, if Louis XVI had openly resisted, if he had had the courage, activity, and ardour of Charles I, he would have triumphed.

"During the whole conflict Charles I, isolated in his kingdom, was surrounded only by partizans and friends, and was never connected with any constitutional branch of his subjects.

"Louis XVI was supported by a regular army, by foreign aid, and two constitutional portions of the nation: the nobility and the clergy. Besides there remained to Louis XVI a second decisive resolution which Charles I had it not in his power to adopt, namely, that of ceasing to be a *feudal Chief*,

in order to become a *national Chief* Unfortunately he could not decide on either the one or the other.

"Charles I therefore perished because he resisted, and Louis XVI because he did not resist The one had a perfect conviction of the privileges of his prerogative, but it is doubtful whether the other had any such conviction, any more than he felt the necessity of exercising its privileges

"In England, the death of Charles I was the result of the artful and atrocious ambition of a single man

"In France, it was the work of the blind multitude, of a disorderly popular assembly

"In England, the representatives of the people evinced a slight shade of decorum, by abstaining from being the judges and actors in the murder which they decreed, they appointed a tribunal to try the King

"In France, the representatives of the people presumed to be at once accusers, judges, and executioners

"In England, the affair was managed by an invisible hand, it assumed an appearance of reflection and calmness In France, it was managed by the multitude, whose fury was without bounds

"In England, the death of the King gave birth to the Republic In France, on the contrary, the birth of the Republic caused the death of the King

"In England, the political explosion was produced by the efforts of the most ardent religious fanaticism In France it was brought about amidst the acclamations of cynical impiety Each according to different ages and manners

"The English Revolution was ushered in by the excesses of the gloomy school Calvin The loose doctrines of the modern school conjured up the storm in France

"In England, the Revolution was mingled with civil war In France, it was attended by foreigners to whom the French

may justly attribute their excesses. The English can advance no such excuse for theirs.

"In England, the army proved itself capable of every act of outrage and fury; it was the scourge of the citizens.

"In France, on the contrary, we owed every benefit to the army. Its triumphs abroad either diminished, or caused us to forget our horrors at home. The army secured independence and glory to France.

"In England, the restoration was the work of the English people, who hailed the event with the most lively enthusiasm. The nation escaped slavery, and seemed to have recovered freedom . . . It was not precisely thus in France.

"In England, a son-in-law hurled his father-in-law from the throne. He was supported by all Europe; and the memory of the act is revered and imperishable.

"In France, on the contrary, the chosen sovereign of the people, who had reigned for the space of fifteen years with the assent of his subjects and foreigners, re-appeared on the theatre of the world, to seize a sceptre which he regarded as his own. Europe rose in a mass, and outlawed him. 1,100,000 men marched against him; he surrendered; he was thrown into captivity, and now efforts are made to tarnish the lustre of his memory."

"THE history of Charlemagne is full of absurdities, which even the most learned critics have not been able to clear up. It would, then, be superfluous to attempt to discover the events which took place in Corsica during the time of that prince. Philippi, the author of the most ancient chronicle of the island, lived in the 15th century; he was the archdeacon of Aleria. Lampridi wrote to Rome, towards the end of the last century, a very voluminous history of the revolutions, histories, etc. Public curiosity was

excited by the continued struggles of this people to free themselves from oppression, and to declare and maintain their independence ”

FROM this moment all parties united in acknowledging Paoli, a few months afterwards the council of Alesani was acknowledged by all the parishes Paoli displayed talent, he conciliated the minds of the people, he gained the friendship of Algiers and of the people of Barbary, he formed a navy of light vessels, had correspondents in the maritime towns, and took possession of the island of Capraja, from which he expelled the Genoese, who were not without some fears that the Corsicans would land on the banks of their river He did all that it was possible to do under existing circumstances, and among the nation which he ruled He was about to take possession of the five ports of the island, when the senate of Genoa, in alarm, had again recourse to France In 1764, six French battalions were sent to guard the maritime cities, and under their ægis, these places continued to recognize the authority of the senate

“PAOLI was a man who had a soul, and was accessible to noble resolutions, but all his moral faults were concentrated by the restless forebodings of that animal instinct which I have so often observed in some of my bravest soldiers ”<sup>3</sup>

“It must be admitted, my dear Las Cases,” said the Emperor to me today “It is most difficult to obtain absolute certainties for the purposes of history Fortunately it is, in general more a matter of mere curiosity than of real importance There are so many kinds of truths! The truths which Fouché, or other intriguers of his stamp, will tell, for instance, even that which many very honest people may tell,

will, in some cases, differ essentially from the truth which I may relate. The truth of history, so much in request, to which everybody eagerly appeals, is too often but a word. At the time of the events, during the heat of conflicting passions, it cannot exist; and if, at a later period, all parties are agreed respecting it, it is because those persons who were interested in the events, those who might be able to contradict what is asserted, are no more. What then is, generally speaking, the truth of history? A fable agreed upon. As it has been very ingeniously remarked, there are, in these matters, two essential points, they are very distinct from each other: the positive facts, and the moral intentions. With respect to the positive facts, it would seem that they ought to be incontrovertible; yet you will not find two accounts agreeing together in relating the same fact: Some have remained contested points to this day, and will ever remain so. With regard to moral intentions, how shall we judge of them, even admitting the candor of those who relate events? And what will be the case if any narrators be not sincere, or if they should be actuated by interest or passions? I have given an order, but who was able to read my thought, my real intentions? Yet everyone will take up that order, and measure it according to his own scale, or adapt it to his own plans or system. See the different colorings that will be given to it by the intriguer, whose plans it disturbs or favors: see how he will distort it. The man who assumes importance, to whom the ministers or the sovereign may have hinted something in confidence on the subject, will do the same thing; as will the numerous idlers of the palace, who have nothing better to do than listen under windows, and invent when they have not heard. And each person will be so certain of what he tells! and the inferior classes of people, who will have received their information from

these privileged individuals, will be so certain, in their turn, of its correctness! And then memoirs are digested, memoranda are written, witticisms and anecdotes are circulated, and of such materials is history composed! I have seen the plan of my own battle, the intention of my own orders disputed with me, and opinion decide against me! Is not that the creature giving the lie to its creator? Nevertheless, my opponent, who contradicts me, will have his adherence. This it is which has prevented me from writing my own private memoirs, from disclosing my individual feelings, which would, naturally, have exhibited the shades of my private character. I could not condescend to write confessions, after the manner of Jean Jacques Rousseau, which everybody might have attacked, and, therefore, I have thought proper to confine the subject of my dictations here to public acts. I am aware that even these relations may be contested, for where is the man in this world, whatever be his right, and the strength and power of that right, who may not be attacked and contradicted by an adverse party? But in the eyes of those men who are wise and impartial, of those who reflect and are reasonable, my voice, after all, will be as good as another's, and I have little dread of the final decision. So much light has been diffused in our days, that I rely upon the splendor that will remain after passions shall have subsided, and clouds have passed away. But, in the mean time, how many errors will arise! People will often give me credit for a great deal of depth and sagacity on occasions which were, perhaps, most simple in themselves. I shall be suspected of plans which I never formed. It will be inquired whether I did or not aspire, in reality, to universal dominion. The question will be argued, at length, whether my absolute sway and my arbitrary acts were the result of my character or of my calculations, whether they

were determined by my own inclination or by the influence of circumstances; whether I was led into wars in which I was constantly engaged, by my own taste, or against my will; whether my insatiable ambition, which has been so much deprecated, was kindled by the thirst for dominion and glory, or by my love of order and my concern for the general welfare; for that ambition will deserve to be considered under all those different aspects. People will canvass the motives which guided me in the catastrophe of the Duke d'Enghien, and so on with respect to many other events. Sometimes they will distort what was perfectly straight, and refine upon what was quite natural. It was not for me to treat upon all those subjects here: it would have appeared as if I were pleading my cause—and that I disdain to do. If the rectitude and the sagacity of historians can enable them to form, from what I have dictated on general matters, a correct opinion and just notions respecting those things which I have not mentioned, so much the better. But along with the faint ray thus afforded, how many false lights will appear to them! From the fables and falsehoods of the great intriguers (who all had their views, their plots their private negotiations, which, being mixed up with the main objects, tend to render the whole an inextricable chaos), to the disclosures, the portfolios, and even the assertions of my ministers, who, with the best intentions, will have to state not so much what really existed, as what they believe to have existed: for which of them ever possessed the entire general conception of my mind? Their share of it was, most frequently, one of the elements of a great whole, which they did not know. They will, therefore, only have seen that side of the prism which concerned them; and, even then, how will they have seen it? Did it reach them entire? Was it not already broken? And yet probably every one



of them, judging from what he has seen, will give it the fantastical result of his own combinations as my true system, and here again we have the admitted fable, which will be called history. Nor can it be otherwise. It is true that as there are many, they will be far from agreeing together. However in their positive assertions they would have the advantage over me. For I should very frequently have found it most difficult to affirm confidently, what had been my whole and entire thoughts on any given subject. It is well known that I did not strive to subject circumstances to my ideas, but that I in general suffered myself on the contrary to be led by them, and who can calculate beforehand the chances of accidental circumstances, unexpected events? I have, therefore, often found it necessary to alter essentially my plan of proceeding, and have acted through life upon general principles, rather than according to fixed plans. The mass of the general interests of mankind, what I considered to be the advantage of the greater number, such were the anchors on which I relied, but around which I most frequently floated at the caprice of chance."

My great maxim has always been, that in war as well as in politics, every evil action, even if legal, can only be excused in case of absolute necessity whatever goes beyond that is criminal<sup>3</sup>

"My habitual reading," remarked Napoleon, on going to bed, "is that of the old chronicles of the 3rd, 4th 5th and 6th centuries. I either read them myself, or have them translated for me. Nothing is more curious, or less known, than the step from ancient to modern manners, and the transition from the old states to the new ones founded on their ruins. We take upon us to suppose, for example, that the ancient

## IX.

### RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

'You\* are above those weaknesses, but what is to be done? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician. I believe in God and am of the religion of my father. It is not everybody who can be an atheist.'

NAPOLEON (In his last days)

THROUGHOUT his entire life, Napoleon was a student of religion in its relation to the State and concerning its effect on the welfare of the various peoples with whom, in an administrative capacity, he had to deal. Doubtless his first contact with it in this character was in Italy, later on in Egypt, and finally in France and in Spain. He was given to academic discussions of theology, and towards the close of his life, to the subject of personal religion. The bent of his mind was such that he required practical demonstrations as a basis of belief, and while he was convinced of the existence of an Almighty Creator, the variety of beliefs led him to question revealed religion, that is to say, it would appear that for many years he based his reluctance to accept unreservedly any specific form as the only true religion because he regarded it as probable that but one form would have been in existence if revealed religion proceeded from the fiat of the Almighty.

"THE people amongst whom we are going to live are Mahometans † The first article of their faith is this 'There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet' Do not contradict them. Behave to them as you have behaved to

\*Dr Antommarchi

†Paragraph in Napoleon's proclamation to the Army en route to Egypt.

the Jews—to the Italians. Pay respect to their muftis, and their Imaums, as you did to the rabbis and the bishops. Extend to the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran and to the mosques the same toleration which you showed to the synagogues, to the religion of Moses and of Jesus Christ.”<sup>1</sup>

“It is an hour after midnight.\* They have just brought me a letter. It is a sad one, my mind is distressed—it is the death of Chauvet. He was *commissionaire ordonnateur en chef* of the army; I feel the need of consolation. It is by writing to thee, to thee alone, the thought of whom can so influence my moral being, to whom I must pour out my troubles. What means the future? what means the past: what are we ourselves? What magic fluid surrounds and hides from us the things that it behooves us most to know? We are born, we live, we die in the midst of marvels; is it astounding that priests, astrologers, charlatans have profited by this propensity, by this strange circumstance, to exploit our ideas, and direct them to their own advantage. Chauvet is dead. He was attached to me. He has rendered essential service to the fatherland. His last words were that he was starting to join me. Yes, I see his ghost; it hovers everywhere, it whistles in the air. His soul is in the clouds, he will be propitious to my destiny. But, fool that I am, I shed tears for our friendship, and who shall tell me that I have not already to bewail the irreparable. Soul of my life, write me by every courier, else I shall not know how to exist.”<sup>2</sup>

ON the subject of religion Bonaparte's ideas were very vague. “My reason,” said he, “makes me incredulous respecting many things; but the impressions of my childhood

\*Letter to Josephine.

and early youth throw me into uncertainty" He was very fond of talking of religion In Italy, in Egypt, and on board the *Orient* and the *Muron*, I have known him to take part in very animated conversations on this subject He readily yielded up all that was proved against religion as the work of men and time but he would not hear of materialism I recollect that one fine night, when he was on deck with some persons who were arguing in favor of materialism, Bonaparte raised his hand to heaven and, pointing to the stars, said, "You may talk as long as you please, gentlemen, but who made all that?" The perpetuity of a name in the memory of man was to him the immortality of the soul He was perfectly tolerant towards every variety of religious faith<sup>3</sup>

TO M FOUCHE, MINISTER OF POLICE

Finkenstein, 21st April, 1807

"You must have a great fuss made—especially in the departmental newspapers in Brittany, the Vendee, Piedmont, and Belgium—over the persecution of the Irish Catholics by the Anglican Church For this purpose you must collect every incident, so as to paint the persecution in the most vivid colours I should advise M Portalis to make secret arrangements with certain Bishops so that when the articles have produced an impression, prayers may be offered for the cessation of the persecution of the Irish Catholics by the Anglican Church

But the Government must proceed very delicately in the matter, and must make use of the newspapers without allowing any suspicion of its object to get about The editors of the *Journal de l'Empire* would serve the purpose well The cruelty and baseness of England with regard to the Irish Catholics, who have been, for the last century, in a per-

petual condition of St. Bartholomew (against the Catholics), must be insisted upon. You must always say 'Anglican Church' instead of 'Protestant'; for we have Protestants in France, and we have no Anglican church."<sup>4</sup>

TO COMTE FOUCHE, MINISTER OF POLICE

Schonbrunn, 10th August, 1809.

"I send you the Bishop of Namur's Charge, which seems to me written with evil intention. Find out who drew it up.

I see by your report of the 3rd, that the Commissary-General of Police at Lyons discloses the fact that on being informed that the order for the Te Deum on the 30th was not, according to the usual custom, to be preceded by my letter, he pointed out the omission. If this be so, you will have a conversation with Cardinal Fesch, and you will make him understand, that unless he instantly withdraws the order he has given, and causes my letter to be re-incorporated with his mandate, I shall consider him my enemy, and the enemy of the State.

Make him understnad that there is nothing contrary to religion in my letter; that I do no permit any one, and him least of all, to fail to respect the authority with which I am invested. Settle this matter with him, if you can, and let my letter appear in his mandate. You will send for Mons. Emery, who is the Cardinal's counsellor, and you will speak to him in this sense: 'Eäther my letter is contrary to religion, or it is not; and has any Bishop the right to change the sense I have given it?' I am as much of a theologian as they are, and even more. I shall not go out of my province. but I will allow nobody else to go out of theirs."<sup>5</sup>

TO THE PRINCE BORGHESE, GOVERNOR GENERAL  
OF THE TRANSALPINE DEPARTMENTS

Fontainebleau, 26th October, 1809

"I have your letter of 12th October. You must write Salmatories that he is not to rush into foolish expense for the Pope, that, on the contrary, I should wish a large economy made on the 1,200,000 francs set apart for his support, so that if the Pope should have to travel, whether to go to Paris, or to any other point in France, there may be a reserve fund for this expenditure."

TO M. DE CHAMPAGNY, DUC DE CADORE  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Paris, 2nd March 1810

'Write to my Minister to say, and make it known far and wide, that I insist that appointments shall be equally divided between Protestants and Catholics: that promotion shall be given to the soldiers who served with my troops, and not to new comers, and that I even request the new comers may be got rid of'."

DURING the negotiations with the Holy Father, Bonaparte one day said to me, "In every country religion is useful to the Government, and those who govern ought to avail themselves of it to influence mankind. I was a Mahometan in Egypt, I am a Catholic in France. With relation to the police of the religion of a state, it should be entirely in the hands of the sovereign. Many persons have urged me to found a Gallican Church, and make myself its head, but they do not know France. If they did, they would know that the majority of the people would not like a rupture with Rome. Before I can resolve on such a measure the Pope must push matters to an extremity, but I believe he will not

do so.”—“You are right, General, and you recall to my memory what Cardinal Consalvi said: ‘The Pope will do all the First Consul desires.’”—“That is the best course for him. Let him not suppose that he has to do with an idiot. What do you think is the point his negotiations put most forward? The salvation of my soul! But with me immortality is the recollection one leaves in the memory of man. That idea prompts to great actions. It would be better for a man never to have lived than to leave behind him no traces of his existence.”

Many endeavours were made to persuade the First Consul to perform in public the duties imposed by the Catholic religion. An influential example, it was urged, was required. He told me once that he had put an end to that request by the following declaration: “Enough of this. Ask me no more. You will not obtain your object. You shall never make a hypocrite of me. Let us remain where we are.”

TO M. BIGOT DE PREAMENEU, MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP

Benavente, 1st January, 1809.

“Let the Archbishop of Bordeaux know my extreme displeasure at the sermon preached by the Abbe Langlade, on the 4th December. Tell him I do not recognize in it, either the Bishops’ own feelings, nor those I have a right to expect from the Bordeaux clergy. As to this Langlade, I have ordered the Minister of Police to have him arrested, and I will punish him in such a way as will serve to warn others.

You will also inform the Archbishop of my dissatisfaction with the bad spirit evident in his Pastoral, as to the message by which I called my subjects to the defense of their country. This spirit is particularly evident in the expressions: “You will not fail, when you make this communication to your parishioners, to urge them, with prudent zeal, to submit

themselves to the command of Divine Providence, when it calls upon us to purchase that repose which is the object of all Christian hope, by painful but temporary sacrifices." The Archbishop of Bordeaux is, doubtless, a worthy man, but he is surrounded by ill-conditioned people, whom he either does not distrust, or cannot restrain. Send them to Paris instantly."<sup>8</sup>

A SPEECH of M. de Chateaubriand has been read to the Emperor, on the propriety of allowing the clergy to inherit. The Emperor observed, that it was rather an academical oration than the opinion of a legislator—it had wit, but showed little judgment, and contained no views whatever. "Allow the clergy to inherit," said he, "and nobody will die without being obliged to purchase absolution; for, whatever our opinions may be, we none of us know where we go on leaving this world. Then must we remember our last and final account, and hour, nor answer for the strength of his mind at that awful moment. Who can affirm that I shall not die in the arms of a confessor? and that he will not make me acknowledge myself guilty of the evil I shall not have done, and implore forgiveness for it?"<sup>9</sup>

BUT when at the next sitting of the Council of State he saw Monsieur Portalis enter and take his seat as if he had nothing to reproach himself with, Napoleon could not restrain his indignation. "Monsieur Portalis," said he, "is it your religious principles which have induced you to betray your duty to your sovereign? But should this be so, why come and seat yourself in my council of state? I do violence to the conscience of no one; did I force you to become one of my councillors of state? Was it not rather a signal favour which you solicited from me? You are the youngest here,



and perhaps the only one without personal claims; I only saw in you the heir to your father's services. You swore allegiance to me. How can your religion accord with the flagrant violation of an oath? Speak, however; you are here as in a family circle; your colleagues will judge you. Your fault is great—very great! A murderous conspiracy is rendered abortive as soon as we seize the poniard in the hand of the assassin; but a moral conspiracy is a train of powder.

"I have surrounded myself with men of all parties; I have even placed near my person emigres, men from the army of Conde; and I have done this, because I have confidence in French honour, and in serving me they swore allegiance to me. Since I have been at the head of affairs, you are the first person who has betrayed me." Monsieur Portalis had nothing to say, but stammered out some unmeaning excuses.

The Emperor said—"Leave the room, sir, you are no longer a councillor of state."<sup>10</sup>

"THEY were foolish to insist," said he, in the presence of a large company; "if the Cure of Saint Roche was determined to create scandal, they should have carried the corpse straight to the cemetery, and induced the first wise and tolerant priest who passed near to bless the grave; there are still many good ones—the Archbishop of Paris, for instance! He is a worthy clergyman. What a venerable old age is his! That man may say within himself:

"I have attained this advanced age without having injured anyone: I have never done anything but good.' And do you know why? Because he acts upon the moral precepts of the Gospel. Whenever in his former diocese he wanted alms for the poor, and a ball or *fête* was given in

the neighborhood, he appeared among the company to plead the cause of charity, while their hearts were opened by mirth and pleasure he knew that they were then most sensible to virtuous impressions, and his austerity did not take alarm at a dance tune Yes, he is a worthy priest "

The Cure of Saint Roche was condemned to do penance, which was announced officially to his parishioners in the *Moniteur* The latter article is in a peculiar style which betrays the hand, or at least the mind, of the First Consul, those who intimately knew him will recognize the turn of his phraseology in the following copy

"The Cure of Saint Roche, in a temporary forgetfulness of reason, has refused to pray for Mademoiselle Chameroi, and to admit her remains within the church One of his colleagues, a sensible man, versed in the true morality of the Gospel, received the body into the Church of the Filles Saint Thomas, where the service was performed with all the usual solemnities The Archbishop has ordered the Cure of Saint Roche three months' suspension to remind him that Jesus Christ commands us to pray even for our enemies, and in order that, recalled to a sense of his duty by meditation, he may learn that all the superstitious practices preserved by some rituals, but which, begotten in times of ignorance, or created by the overheated imagination of zealots, degrade religion by their frivolity, were proscribed by the Concordat, and by the law of the 18th Germinal""<sup>11</sup>

THE Emperor desired that public worship should be gratuitous, and adapted to the people, that a decent burial should be granted to the poor without charge "No one has a right," said he, "to lay a tax upon the dead the poor should not be deprived because they are poor, of that which consoles them in their poverty "

THE Emperor found the dying marshal in a cottage, stretched upon a camp-bed, and suffering excruciating agony. His features were so distorted that he was hardly recognizable. The Emperor approached his bed, threw his arms around his neck, and inquired, "Is there, then, no hope?"

"None whatever," the physicians replied.

The dying man took the hand of Napoleon, pressed it fervently to his lips, and, gazing upon him affectionately, said, "Sire! my whole life has been devoted to your service; and now my only regret is that I can no longer be useful to you."

Napoleon, in a voice almost inarticulate with emotion, replied, "Duroc! there is another life. There you will await me. We shall one day meet again."<sup>12</sup>

\* \* \* He drew from a drawer an oval frame, of gilded wood, which encircled a Pieta of the Blessed Virgin holding upon her knees the body of her Son after the decent from the Cross.\* This picture was suspended, like a crucifix, at the head of the Emperor's bed, and he knelt before it night and morning, in the vague belief that fervent prayer to this divinity, who seemed nearer to him than any other, might alter the decrees of destiny in his favour. And yet his own mother, whom he included in the superstitious adoration with which he prayed before this picture, unlike the Mother of Christ, was forbidden to hold his dead body in her embrace!<sup>13</sup>

DURING the conversation, I† took the liberty of asking the emperor his reasons for having encouraged the Jews so much. He replied, "I wanted to make them leave off usury,

\*Relics at Elba.

†Dr. O'Meara.

and become like other men. There were a great many Jews in the countries I reigned over, by removing their disabilities, and by putting them upon an equality with Catholics, Protestants, and others, I hoped to make them become good citizens, and conduct themselves like the rest of the community. I believe that I should have succeeded in the end. My reasoning with them was, that as their rabbins explained to them that they ought not to practise usury against their own tribes, but were allowed to practise it with Christians and others, that, therefore, as I had restored them to all their privileges, and made them equal to my other subjects, they must consider me, like Solomon or Herod, to be the head of their nation, and my subjects as brethren of a tribe similar to theirs. That, consequently, they were not permitted to deal usuriously with them or me, but to treat us as if we were of the tribe of Judah. That enjoying similar privileges to my other subjects, they were, in like manner, to pay taxes, and submit to the laws of conscription, and to other laws. By this I gained many soldiers. Besides, I should have drawn great wealth to France, as the Jews are very numerous, and would have flocked to a country where they enjoyed such superior privileges. Moreover, I wanted to establish an universal liberty of conscience. My system was to have no predominant religion, but to allow perfect liberty of conscience and of thought, to make all men equal, whether Protestants, Catholics, Mahometans, Deists, or others, so that their religion should have no influence in getting them employments under government. In fact, that it should neither be the means of serving, nor of injuring them, and that no objection should be made to a man's getting a situation on the score of religion, provided he were fit for it in other respects. I made everything independent of religion. All the tribunals were so. Marriages were inde-

pendent of the priests; even the burying grounds were not left at their disposal, as they could not refuse interment to the body of any person of whatsoever religion. My intention was to render everything belonging to the state and the constitution, purely civil, without reference to any religion. I wished to deprive the priests of all influence and power in civil affairs, and to oblige them to confine themselves to their own spiritual matters, and meddle with nothing else." I asked if uncles and nieces had not a right to marry in France. He replied, "Yes, but they must obtain a special permission." I asked if the permission were to be granted by the pope. "By the pope?" said he, "No"; catching me by the ear and smiling, "I tell you that neither the pope, nor any of his priests, had power to grant anything.—By the sovereign."<sup>14</sup>

SHORTLY afterwards he spoke about Catholic emancipation, which if effected, he pronounced would be of great benefit to the English on the continent, and be a most wise and politic measure for our ministers to adopt.<sup>15</sup>

MAHOMET was the subject of deep criticism. "Voltaire," said the Emperor, "in the character and conduct of his hero, has departed both from nature and history. He has degraded Mahomet, by making him descend to the lowest intrigues. He has represented a great man who changed the face of the world, acting like a scoundrel, worthy of the gallows. He has no less absurdly travestied the character of Omar, which he has drawn like that of a cut-throat in a melodrama.

"Voltaire committed a fundamental error in attributing to intrigue that which was solely the result of opinion. Those who have wrought great changes in the world, never suc-

ceeded by gaining over chiefs, but always by exciting the multitude. The first is the resource of intrigue, and produces only secondary results, the second is the resort of genius, and transforms the face of the universe."

The Emperor, adverting to the truth of history, expressed his disbelief of all that was attributed to Mahomet. "He must doubtless have been like all chiefs of sects," said he. 'The Koran, having been written thirty years after his death, may have recorded many falsehoods. The empire of the Prophet, his doctrine and his mission, being established and fulfilled, people might and must have spoken accordingly. Still it remains to be explained how the mighty event which we are certain did take place, namely the conquest of the world, could have been effected in the short space of fifty or sixty years. By whom was it brought about? By the hordes of the desert, who, as we are informed, were few in number, ignorant, unwarlike, undisciplined, and destitute of system. And yet they opposed the civilized world, abounding in resources. Fanaticism could not have accomplished this miracle, for fanaticism must have had time to establish her dominion, and the career of Mahomet lasted only thirteen years.'"<sup>16</sup>

He afterwards spoke about funeral rites, and added, that when he died, he would wish that his body might be burned. "It is the best mode," said he, "as then the corpse does not produce any inconvenience, and as to the resurrection, that must be accomplished by a miracle, and it is easy to the being who has it in his power to perform such a miracle as bringing the remains of the bodies together, to also form again the ashes of the dead.'"<sup>17</sup>

"AFTER all," continued he, gayly, "it would not have been so very extraordinary, even though circumstances had induced me to embrace Islamism; and, as a good Queen of France once said, '*You will tell me as much!*' . . . But I must have had good reasons for my conversion. I must have been secure of advancing as far as the Euphrates, at least. Change of religion for private interest is inexcusable; but it may be pardoned in consideration of immense political results. Henry IV said, that the dominion of the East, and perhaps the subjugation of all Asia, were not worth a turban and a pair of trowsers! And, in truth, the whole matter was reduced to this; for the grand Sheiks had studied how to render it easy to us. They had smoothed down the greatest obstacles; allowed us the use of wine, and dispensed with all corporeal formalities. We should therefore have lost only our small clothes and hats. I say we; for the army, in the disposition in which it then was, would have made it a mere matter of jest and laughter. But what would have been the consequence! I should have turned my back on Europe, and the old civilization of the continent would have been bound up. And who would then have troubled themselves about the course of Fate in France, or the regeneration of the age! . . . Who would have attempted it! Who could have succeeded!"<sup>18</sup>

THE Emperor, after having spoken for some time with warmth and animation, said: "Everything proclaims the existence of a God, *that* cannot be questioned; but all our religions are evidently the work of men. Why are there so many? Why has ours not always existed? Why does it consider itself exclusively the right one? What becomes in that case of all the virtuous men who have gone before us? Why has this been the case ever and everywhere? Be-

cause men are ever men, because priests have ever and everywhere introduced fraud and falsehood. However, as soon as I had power I immediately re-established religion. I made it the ground work and foundation upon which I built. I considered it as the support of sound principles and good morality, both in doctrine and in practice. Besides, such is the restlessness of man, that his mind requires *that something* undefined and marvellous which religion offers, and it is better for him to find it there, than to seek it of Cagliostro, of Mademoiselle Lenormand or of the other soothsayers and imposters." Somebody having ventured to say to him, that he might possibly in the end become devout, the Emperor answered with an air of conviction, that he feared not, and that it was with regret he said it, for it was no doubt a great source of consolation, but that his incredulity did not proceed from perverseness or from licentiousness of mind, but from the strength of his reason. "Yet," added he, "no man can answer for what will happen particularly in his last moments. At present I certainly believe that I shall die without a confessor, and yet there is such a one (pointing to one of us) who will perhaps receive my confession. I am assuredly very far from being an atheist, but I cannot believe all that I am taught in spite of my reason, without being false and a hypocrite. When I became Emperor, and particularly after my marriage with Maria Louisa, every effort was made to induce me to go with great pomp according to the custom of the Kings of France, to take the sacrament at the church of Notre Dame, but this I positively refused to do. I did not believe in the act sufficiently to derive any benefit from it, and yet I believed too much in it to expose myself to commit a profanation." On this occasion a certain person was alluded to, who had boasted, as it were, that he had never taken the sacrament. "That



is very wrong," said the Emperor; "either he has not fulfilled the intention of his education, or his education had not been completed." Then, resuming the subject, he said, "To explain where I come from, what I am, and whither I go, is above my comprehension; and yet all that is. I am like the watch that exists, without possessing the consciousness of existence. However, the sentiment of religion is so consolatory, that it must be considered as a gift of Heaven: what a resource would it not be for us here to possess it? What influence could men and events exercise over me, if bearing my misfortunes as if inflicted by God, I expected to be compensated by him with happiness hereafter! What rewards have I not a right to expect, who have run a career so extraordinary, so tempestuous as mine has been, without committing a single crime, and yet how many might I not have been guilty of? I can appear before the tribunal of God, I can await his judgment without fear. He will not find my conscience stained with the thoughts of murder, and poisonings, with the infliction of violent and premeditated deaths, events so common in the history of those whose lives have resembled mine. I have wished only for the glory, the power, the greatness of France. All my faculties, all my efforts, all my moments, were directed to the attainment of that object. These cannot be crimes, to me they appeared acts of virtue! What then would be my happiness, if the bright prospect of futurity, presented itself to crown the last moments of my existence."<sup>19</sup>

"NEVERTHELESS," he observed again, "it cannot be doubted, that as Emperor, the species of incredulity which I felt was favourable to the nations I had to govern. How could I have favoured equally sects so opposed to one another, if I had been under the influence of one of them? How could

I have preserved the independence of my thoughts, and of my actions, under the control of a confessor, who would have governed me by the dread of hell? What power cannot a wicked man, the most stupid of mankind, thus exercise over those by whom whole nations are governed? Is it not the scene shifter at the opera, who from behind the scenes, moves Hercules at his will? Who can doubt that the last years of Lewis XIV would have been very different, had he been directed by another confessor? I was so deeply impressed with the truth of these opinions, that I promised to do all in my power, to bring up my son in the same religious persuasion, which I myself entertain'

The Emperor ended the conversation, by desiring my son to bring him the New Testament, and taking it from the beginning, he read as far as the conclusion of the speech of Jesus on the mountain. He expressed himself struck with the highest admiration, at the purity, the sublimity, the beauty of the morality it contained, and we all experienced the same feeling<sup>20</sup>

HAD some conversation with the emperor concerning religion. I observed, that in England there were different opinions about his faith, that some had latterly supposed him to be a Roman Catholic. "*Ebbene,*" replied he, "*Credo tutto quel che crede la chiesa*" (I believe all that the church believes). "I used," continued he, "to make the bishop of Nantes dispute with the Pope frequently in my presence. He wanted to re-establish the monks. My bishop used to tell him that the emperor had no objection of persons being monks in their hearts, but that he objected to allowing any society of them to exist publicly. The Pope wanted me to confess, which I always evaded by saying, 'Holy father (*santo padre*), I am too much occupied at present. When

I get older.' I took a pleasure in conversing with the Pope, who was a good old man, *ma testardo* (though obstinate)."

"There are so many different religions," continued he, "or modifications of them, that it is difficult to know which to choose. If one religion had existed from the beginning of the world, I should think that to be the true one. As it is, I am of opinion that every person ought to continue in the religion in which he was brought up; in that of his fathers. What are you?" "A Protestant," I replied. "Was your father so?" I said, "Yes." "Then continue in that belief."

"In France," continued he, "I received Catholics and Protestants alike at my levee. I paid their ministers alike. I gave the Protestants a fine church at Paris, which had formerly belonged to the Jesuits. In order to prevent any religious quarrels in places where there were both Catholic and Protestant churches, I prohibited them from tolling the bells to summon the people to worship in their respective churches, unless the ministers of the one and the other made a specific request for permission to do so, and stating that it was the desire and request of the members of each religion. Permission was then given for a year, and if at the expiration of that year the demand was not renewed by both parties again, it was not continued. By these means, I prevented the squabbles which had previously existed, as the Catholic priests found that they could not have their own bells tolled, unless the Protestants had a similar privilege.

"There is a link between animals and the Deity. Man," added he, "is merely a more perfect animal than the rest. He reasons better. But how do we know that animals have not a language of their own? My opinion is, that it is presumption in us to say no, because we do not understand

them A horse has memory, knowledge, and love He knows his master from the servants, though the latter are more constantly with him I had a horse myself, who knew me from any other person, and manifested by capering and proudly marching with his head erect, when I was on his back, his knowledge that he bore a person superior to the others by whom he was surrounded Neither would he allow any other person to mount him, except one groom, who constantly took care of him, and when ridden by him, his motions were far different, and such as seemed to say that he was conscious he bore an inferior When I lost my way, I was accustomed to throw the reins down his neck, and he always discovered it in places where I, with all my observation and boasted superior knowledge, could not Who can deny the sagacity of dogs? There is a link between all animals Plants are so many animals who eat and drink, and there are gradations up to man, who is only the most perfect of them all The same spirit animates them all in a greater or a lesser degree <sup>21</sup>

In speaking of priests and religion the conversation led the Emperor to say, 'Man entering into life asks himself From whence do I come? What am I? Whither am I to go? These are so many mysterious questions, which urge us on to religion We eagerly embrace it, we are attracted by our natural propensity, but as we advance in knowledge our course is stopped Instruction and history are the great enemies of religion, deformed by human imperfection Why, we ask ourselves, is the religion of Paris, neither that of London nor of Berlin? Why is that of Petersburg different from that of Constantinople? Why is the latter different from that of Persia, of the Ganges and of China? Why is the religion of ancient times different from that of

our days? Then reason is sadly staggered; it exclaims, O religion, religions! the children of man! . . . We very properly believe in God, because everything around us proclaims him; and most enlightened minds have believed in him; not only Bossuet, whose profession it was, but also Newton and Leibnitz, who had nothing to do with it. But we know not what to think of the doctrine, that is taught to us, and we find ourselves like the watch which goes, without knowing the watchmaker that made it. And observe a little the stupidity of those who educate us; they should keep away from us the idea of paganism and idolatry; because their absurdity excites the first reason of our reason, and prepares us for a resistance to passive belief; and they bring us up, notwithstanding, in the midst of the Greeks and Romans, with their myriads of divinities. Such, for my own part, has literally been the progress of my understanding. I felt the necessity of belief; I did believe, but my belief was shocked and undecided, the moment I acquired knowledge and began to reason; and that happened to me, at so early an age as thirteen. Perhaps, I shall again believe implicitly; God grant I may. I shall certainly make no resistance, and I do not ask a greater blessing; it must, in my mind, be a great and real happiness.

“IN violent agitations, however, and in the casual suggestions of immorality itself, the absence of that religious faith has never, I assert, influenced me in any respect, and I never doubted the existence of God; for, if my reason was inadequate to comprehend it, my mind was not the less disposed to adopt it. My nerves were in sympathy with that sentiment.”

"WHEN I seized on the helm of affairs, I had already fixed ideas of all the primary elements by which society is bound together, I had weighed all the importance of religion, I was convinced, and I determined to re establish it. But the resistance I had to overcome, in restoring catholicism, would scarcely be credited. I should have been more willingly followed, had I hoisted the standard of protestantism. This reluctance was carried so far, that in the Council of State, where I found great difficulty in getting the Concordat adopted, several yielded only in forming a plan to extricate themselves from it. 'Well!' they said to one another, 'let us turn protestants, and that will not affect us.' It is unquestionable, that in the disorder to which I succeeded, that on the ruins where I was placed, I was at liberty to choose between catholicism and protestantism, and it may also be said, with truth, that the general disposition, at the moment, was quite in favor of the latter, but, besides my adherence to the religion in which I was born, I had the most important motives to influence my decision. What should I have gained by proclaiming protestantism? I should have created two great parties, very nearly equal, in France, when I wished for the existence of none at all, I should have revived the fury of religious disputes, when their total annihilation was called for by the light of the century, and my own feelings. These two parties would by their mutual distractions, have destroyed France, and rendered her the slave of Europe, when I had the ambition to make her the mistress of it. By the help of catholicism I attained, much more effectually, all the grand results I had in view. In the interior, at home, the smaller number was swallowed up by the greater, and I relied upon my treating the former with such an equality, that there would be shortly no marking the difference. Abroad, the Pope was bound to me by catholic-

ism; and with my influence, and our forces in Italy, I did not despair, sooner or later, by some means or another, of obtaining for myself the direction of that Pope, and from that time, what an influence! What a lever of opinion on the rest of the world!" And he concluded with saying: "Francis I was really in a state to adopt protestantism, at its birth, and declare himself the head of it in Europe. Charles V, his rival, was the zealous champion of Rome, because he considered that measure as an additional means to assist him in his project of enslaving Europe. Was not that circumstance alone sufficient to point out to Francis the necessity of taking care of his independence; but he abandoned the greater to run after the lesser advantage."

"HAD Francis I embraced Lutheranism, which is favorable to royal supremacy, he would have preserved France from the dreadful religious convulsions brought on, at later periods, by the Calvinists, whose efforts, altogether republican, were on the point of subverting the throne, and dissolving our noble monarchy. Unfortunately Francis I was ignorant of all that, for he could not allege his scruples for an excuse; he who entered into an alliance with the Turks, and brought them into the midst of us. It was precisely because he was incapable of extending his views so far. The folly of the time! The extent of feudal intellect! Francis I was, after all, but a hero for tilts and tournaments, and a gallant for the drawing-room, one of those pigmy great men."

"THE Bishop of Natez" (De Voisin), said the Emperor, "made me a real Catholic by the efficacy of his arguments, by the excellence of his morals and by his enlightened toleration. Marie Louise, whose confessor he was, consulted

him once on the obligation of abstaining from meat on Fridays—"At what table do you dine," asked the Bishop?—"At the Emperor's" "Do you give all the orders there?"—"No" "You cannot, then, make any alteration in it, would he do it himself?"—"I am inclined to think not" "Be obedient then, and do not provoke a subject for scandal Your first duty is to obey, and make him respected, you will not be in want of other means to amend your life, and to suffer privations in the eyes of God"

"He also behaved in the same way with respect to a public communion, which some persons put into Marie Louise's head to celebrate on Easter day She would not, however, consent without the advice of her prudent confessor, who dissuaded her from it by similar arguments What a difference," said the Emperor, 'had she been worked upon by a fanatic! What quarrels, what disagreements might he not have caused between us! What mischief might he not have done, in the circumstance in which I was placed!'

'THE Pope had dispensed with the public communion in my favor, and it is by his determination in that respect, that I form my opinion of the sincerity of his religious belief He had held a congregation of cardinals for the purpose of settling the ceremonial The greater number warmly insisted upon my taking the communion in the public, asserting the great influence of the example on the people, and the necessity of my holding it out The Pope, on the contrary, fearful lest I should fulfil that duty as if I were going through one of the articles of M de Segur's program, looked upon it as a sacrilege, and was inflexible in opposing it 'Napoleon,' he observed, 'is not perhaps a believer, and in the meantime, let us not burthen his conscience or our own'



"In his Christian charity, for he really is a worthy, mild, and excellent man, he never once despaired of seeing me a penitent at his tribunal; he has often let his hopes and thoughts on that subject escape him. We sometimes conversed about it in a pleasant and friendly manner. 'It will happen to you, sooner or later,' said he, with an innocent tenderness of expression, 'you will be converted by me or by others, and you will then feel how great the content, the satisfaction of your own heart, etc.' In the meantime, my influence over him was such, that I drew from him, by mere power of my conversation, that famous concordat of Fontainebleau, in which he renounced the temporal sovereignty, an act, on account of which, he has since shown that he dreaded the judgment of posterity, or rather the reprobation of his successors. He had no sooner signed than he felt the stings of repentance. He was to have dined the following day with me in public; but at night, he was, or pretended to be ill. The truth is, that immediately after I left him, he again fell into the hands of his habitual advisers, who drew a terrible picture of the error he had committed. Had we been left by ourselves, I might have done what I pleased with him; I should have governed the world."<sup>22</sup>

AMONGST the numerous subjects of conversation which followed, predestination was mentioned. The Emperor made many remarkable observations on that subject; amongst others, "Pray," said he, "am I not said to be given to the belief in predestination?" "Yes, sire, at least by many people." "Well, well! let them say on; one may sometimes be tempted to imitate, and it may occasionally be useful . . . But what are men! . . . How much easier it is to attract their attention, and to strike their imagination, by

absurdities than by rational ideas! But can a man of sound sense listen for one moment to such a doctrine? Either predestination admits the existence of free will, or it rejects it. If it admits it, what kind of predetermined result can that be which a simple determination, a stop, a word, may alter or modify, *ad infinitum*? If predestination, on the contrary, rejects the existence of free will, it is quite another question, in that case a child need only be thrown into the cradle as soon as it is born, there is no necessity for bestowing the least care upon it, for if it be irrevocably determined that it is to live, it will grow though no food should be given to it. You see that such a doctrine cannot be maintained, predestination is but a word without a meaning. The Turks themselves, the patrons of predestination, are not convinced of the doctrine, or medicine would not exist in Turkey, and a man residing in the third floor, would not take the trouble to go down by the longer way of the stairs, he would immediately throw himself out of the window. You see to what a string of absurdities that will lead! 23

THE concordat of 1801 was necessary to religion, to the republic, to the government, the temples of worship were closed, the priests persecuted, they were divided into three sects—the constitutional priests, the vicars apostolic, and the bishops who had emigrated to England. The concordat put an end to these discussions, and raised the Roman catholic apostolic church from its ruins, it was facilitated by the favourable disposition of the venerable Pius VII, who, immediately on hearing the proposal of it, hastened to reply ‘Assure the First Consul, that I shall willingly enter a negotiation, the aim of which is so praiseworthy, so suitable to my holy office, and so conformable to the wishes of my heart’ The plenipotentiaries of the Holy See were,

Cardinal Spina, and a celebrated theologian; Joseph Bonaparte, Cretel, a state councillor, and Bermir, then a rector, formerly a chief of the Vendean army, were invested with powers by France.<sup>24</sup>

Fox, conversing with Napoleon after the treaty of Amiens, reproached him with not having obtained freedom for the priests to marry: Napoleon replied: "*I had and have need of using pacifying measures; it is with water and not with oil, that theological volcanoes must be calmed; it would have given me less trouble to have established the confession of Augsburg throughout my empire.*"

NOTHING was yet settled concerning the temporal affairs of Rome; this uncertainty encouraged the resistance of the Pope; the Emperor who had been harassed for five years by the most pitiful arguments, arising from the mixture of temporal and spiritual power, decided at length to separate them for ever, and no longer allow the Pope to be a temporal sovereign. Jesus Christ had said: "*My kingdom is not of this world,*" though heir to the throne of David, he had wished to be pontiff and not king.<sup>25</sup>

"THE doctor\* has said," continued he, "that I turned Mahometan in Egypt. Now it is not the case. I never followed any of the tenets of that religion. I never prayed in the mosques. I never abstained from wine, or was circumcised, neither did I ever profess it. I said merely that we were the friends of the Mussulmen, and that I respected Mahomet their prophet, which was true; I respect him now. I wanted to make the Imans cause prayers to be offered up in the mosques to me, in order to make the people respect me still more than they actually did, and obey me more readily."

\*Dr. Warden.

HE was reading a little book, which I perceived to be a French New Testament. I could not help observing to him, that many people would not believe that he would read such a book, as it had been asserted and credited that he was an unbeliever. Napoleon laughed, and replied "Nevertheless, it is not true. I am far from being an Atheist. In spite of all the iniquities and frauds of the teachers of religion, who are eternally preaching up that their kingdom is not of this world, and yet seize everything which they can lay their hands upon, from the time that I arrived at the head of the government, I did everything in my power to re-establish religion. But I wished to render it the foundation and prop of morality and good principles, and not *a prendre l'essor* of the human laws. Man has need of something wonderful. It is better for him to seek it in religion than in Mlle le Normand†. Moreover, religion is a great consolation and resource to those who possess it, and no man can pronounce what he will do in this last moments"<sup>26</sup>

"THE Jesuits," said Napoleon, "are all men of talent and learning. They are the best existing missionaries, and would be, were it not for their ambition of ruling, the best instructing body, for the propagation of civilization and the development of its progress. They may be of service in Russia for some years longer, because the first need of that empire is civilization"<sup>27</sup>

"IF," said he, "I were at the head of affairs in England, I would devise some means of paying off the national debt. I would appropriate to that purpose the whole of the church livings, except a tenth (always excepting those whose incomes were moderate) in a manner that the salary of the

†A fortune teller

highest amongst the clergy should not exceed eight hundred or a thousand a year. What business have those priests with such enormous incomes? They should follow the directions of Jesus Christ, who ordered that, as pastors to the people, they should set an example of moderation, humanity, virtue, and poverty, instead of wallowing in riches, luxury, and sloth . . . I would appropriate to a similar purpose all sinecures, except those enjoyed by men who had rendered most eminent services to the state; and, indeed, even those might be rewarded by giving them some office, in which they would be obliged to do something. If you emancipated the Catholics, they would readily pay an immense sum towards liquidating the nation's debt."<sup>28</sup>

IN the evening the Emperor was alone with Count Montholon. The Count was not a religious man. He has frankly said, "In the midst of camps I forgot religion." Napoleon, with great joy, informed Montholon of his intention to attend mass the next day. He then uttered the following remarkable confession:

"Upon the throne, surrounded by generals far from devout—yes, I will not deny it—I had too much regard for public opinion, and far too much timidity, and perhaps I did not dare to say aloud, '*I am a believer.*' I said *religion is a power—a political engine.* But even then, if any one had questioned me directly, I should have replied, '*Yes, I am a Christian.*' And if it had been necessary to confess my faith at the price of martyrdom, I should have found all my firmness. Yes, I should have endured it rather than deny my religion. But, now that I am at St. Helena, why should I dissemble that which I believe at the bottom of my heart? Here I live for myself. I wish for a priest. I desire the communion of the Lord's Supper, and to confess what I

believe I will go to the mass I will not force any one to accompany me there But those who love me will follow me "

"THESE Bourbons are the most timorous race imaginable," continued Napoleon, "put them in fear, and you may obtain any thing While I was at Elba, an actress named Mademoiselle Raucou died She was greatly beloved by the public, and an immense concourse of people went to her funeral When they arrived at the Church of St Roch to have the funeral service performed over the corpse, they found the doors shut, and admittance was refused to it Nor would they allow it to be buried in consecrated ground, for by the old regulations of those priests people of her profession were excluded from Christian burial The populace broke open the doors with sledges, and perceiving that there was no priest to perform the funeral service, they became clamorous their rage knew no bounds They cried *au chateau, au chateau des Tuilleries* We will see what right these priests have to refuse interment to a Christian corpse Their fury was heightened still more by learning that the very *coquin*, the curate of St Roch, who had refused Christian burial to the corpse of Mademoiselle Raucour, had been in the constant habit of receiving presents from her, both for himself and for the poor (for she was extremely charitable), and had dined and supped with her repeatedly Moreover, that he had actually administered the sacrament to her a few days before her demise The populace cried out, here is a *canaille* of a priest, who administers the sacrament to a woman, and afterwards denies her body Christian burial If she was worthy of the sacrament, she surely is worthy of burial He receives her benefactions, eats her dinners, and refuses her body inter

ment. About fifty thousand of them went to the Tuilleries to seek redress from the king. An architect, who was in the inner apartments at the time, told me that he was present when Louis was first informed of it. Not being aware that the mob was so numerous, Louis said, 'the curate is right. Those players are ungodly gentry, they are excommunicated, and have no right to a Christian burial.' A few minutes afterwards Blacas entered in great fright, and said, that there were above seventy thousand furious people about the palace, and that he was afraid they would pull it down about them. Louis almost out of his senses with fear, cried out to give immediate orders to have the body buried according to the rites of the church, and actually hurried some persons away to see it instantly carried into execution. He was not clear of his terror for some days. Those priests tried an experiment of a similar nature with me respecting the body of a beautiful dancer, but, *per Dio*, (said he with emotion) they had not Louis to deal with. I soon settled the affair."<sup>29</sup>

GENERAL BERTRAND was an avowed unbeliever, and often displeased Napoleon by speaking disrespectfully of sacred things. The Emperor was one day, about this time, conversing with him upon the subject of Atheism.

"Your spirit," said he, "is it the same as the spirit of the herdsman whom you see in the valley below, feeding his flocks? Is there not as great a distance between you and him as between a horse and a man? But how do you know this? You have never seen his spirit. No, the spirit of a beast has the endowment of being invisible. It has that privilege equally with the spirit of the most exalted genius.

"But you have talked with the herdsman. You have examined his countenance. You have questioned him, and

his responses have told you what he is. You judge, then, the cause from the effects, and you judge correctly. Certainly your reason, your intelligence, your faculties, are vastly above those of the herdsman. Very well, I judge in the same way. Divine effects compel me to believe in a divine cause. Yes, there is a divine cause, a sovereign reason, an infinite being. That cause is the cause of causes—that reason is the reason creative of intelligence. There exists an infinite being, compared with whom you, General Bertrand, are but an atom, compared with whom I, Napoleon, with all my genius, am truly nothing, a pure nothing, do you understand? I perceive him—God. I can pardon many things, but I have a horror of an Atheist and materialist. Think you that I can have any sympathies in common with the man who does not believe in the existence of the soul? who believes that he is but a lump of clay, and who wishes that I may also be like him, a lump of clay?"<sup>30</sup>

At half past one he sent for Vignali—"Abbe," said he, "do you know what a *chambre ardente*\* is?"—"Yes, Sire"—"Have you ever officiated in one?"—"Never, sire"—"Well, you shall officiate in mine"—He then entered into the most minute detail on the subject, and gave the priest his instructions, at considerable length. His face was animated and convulsive, and It was following with uneasiness the contraction of his features, when he observed in mine I know not what expression which displeased him—"You are above those weaknesses," said he, "but what is to be done? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician. I believe in God, and am of the religion of my father. It is not everybody who *can* be an Atheist." Then turning again

\*A room in which dead bodies lie in state

†Dr. Antommarchi



to the priest—"I was born a Catholic, and will fulfill the duties prescribed by the Catholic religion, and receive the assistance it administers. You will say mass every day in the chapel, and will expose the holy sacrament during forty hours. After my death, you will place your altar at my head in the room in which I shall lie in state; you will continue to say mass, and perform all the customary ceremonies, and will not cease to do so until I am under ground."

The Abbe withdrew, and I remained alone with Napoleon, who censured my supposed incredulity. "How can you carry it so far?" said he. "Can you not believe in God, whose existence every thing proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed?"—"But, sire, I have never doubted it. I was following the pulsations of the fever, and your Majesty thought you perceived in my features an expression which they had not."—"You are a physician," replied he laughing, and then added, in an under-tone, "Those people have only to do with matter; they never will believe any thing."<sup>31</sup>

## X

### EDUCATION

I told the Emperor writes Las Cases that one of our Princes has taught mathematics during his emigration. And this alone' observed he with animation would make a man of him and show him to have possessed some merit'

INDEPENDENT of his interest in education on general principles, Napoleon keenly realized what it had done for himself. He was also aware that in the past, it had largely been confined to the privileged class, without recognition and control by the State. It could not be availed of by the children and youth of the nation to any great extent. As will be seen, his interest was such that he devoted to the subject a large part of his time and thought. He frequently visited the schools and participated in the examinations of the pupils.

THE First Consul directed the Minister of the Interior to draw up a report on that establishment, and he himself went to pay an unexpected visit to the *Prítanee*, accompanied by M. Lebrun and Duroc. He remained there upwards of an hour, and in the evening he spoke to me with much interest on the subject of his visit. "Do you know, Bourrienne," said he, "that I have been performing the duties of professor?"—"You, General!"—"Yes!" and I did not acquit myself badly. I examined the pupils in the mathematical class, and I recollected enough of my Bezout to make some demonstrations before them. I went everywhere, into the bedrooms and the dining room. I tasted the soup, which is better than we used to have at Brienne. I must devote serious attention to public education and the management of

the colleges. The pupils must have a uniform. I observed some well and others ill dressed. That will not do. At college, above all places, there should be equality. But I was much pleased with the pupils of the Pritanee. I wish to know the names of those I examined, and I have desired Duroc to report to me. I will give them rewards; that stimulates young people. I will provide for some of them.”<sup>1</sup>

THE three comrades looked at each other and smiled; Duroc and Junot thought as Lacuee had done, that this young man with his ardent speech and look of fire could not but be agreeable to Napoleon, and Duroc went to broach the matter to him.

“So the young enthusiast would have me examine him?” said he, with one of his most gracious smiles; then rubbing his chin he continued: “How could such an idea have entered his head? It is a very singular thing.” He walked about for some time in silence, then added: “How old may he be?” “I cannot tell, General, but should guess about seventeen or eighteen.”

“Let him come in.” The young petitioner was introduced. His brilliant countenance expressed his happiness as he cast his eye upon the First Consul. He looked as if his existence depended upon the first word of Napoleon, who advanced towards him with that smile which cast over his countenance a charm entirely different, at these moments when he intended to be gracious, from his usual expression. “Well, young man,” said he, “so you wish me to examine you?”

The youth trembled with joy, and could make no answer; he stood silent, with his eyes fixed on the First Consul. Napoleon did not like either the boldness of presumption or the bashfulness of fear; but that which he now saw was

silence, because the heart spoke too loudly—and he understood it

"Compose yourself, my boy, you are not at this moment sufficiently calm to answer me, I am going to employ myself in other affairs, by and by we will resume yours. Do you see that young man," said the First Consul, leading Junot to the recess of a window, "if I had a thousand such as he the conquest of the world would be but a promenade." He turned his head aside to contemplate the youth, who, plunged in meditation, was probably revolving in his mind what questions were likely to be put to him. In about half an hour Napoleon commenced the examination in which the young candidate acquitted himself admirably. "And have you really had no other instructor than your father?" asked the First Consul with surprise. "No, General, but he was a good master, because he knew how to bring up a citizen to be useful to his country, and especially to follow the great destinies which you promised to it."

Junot observed that they were all astonished at the almost prophetic expression with which the youth pronounced the last words. "I am about to give you a line which will open the sanctuary to you, my child," said the First Consul, and he wrote a few words upon a paper, which he presented to the young man.

On arriving at Paris he hastened to the Abbe Bossu, who, on seeing him, exclaimed, "What do you come again for? There is nothing here for you."

But the youth held a talisman which was equal to a magic ring, and which the Abbe Bossu having read could not refuse to obey, it was as follows:

"M Bossu will receive M Eugene de Kervalegne. I have examined him myself, and find him worthy of admission

'BONAPARTE.'

NAPOLÉON took great interest in the female school which he had established at Ecouen. He often made presents to the young ladies who distinguished themselves.

One day on a visit, he found all the young ladies engaged in needle-work. After having addressed a few pleasant words to each of the classes, he playfully asked a bright-looking girl,

"How many needlefuls of thread does it take to make a shirt?"

She archly replied, "Sire, I should need but one if I could have that sufficiently long."

Napoleon was so pleased with the readiness of the reply, that he immediately gave a gold chain to the young lady. It became, of course, to her a priceless treasure. All the pupils of the school most enthusiastically loved the Emperor.<sup>3</sup>

To encourage exertion, and to rescue merit from hostile or unjust detraction, Napoleon had classes of the Institute organized to give an impartial report upon the progress of literature, the arts, and the sciences. These reports were read to the Emperor in the presence of the Council of State, and munificent rewards were conferred upon the deserving. When the reading of the first reports were finished, Napoleon said to the deputies of the Institute:

"Gentlemen, if the French language is become a universal language, it is to the men of genius who have sat, or who still sit among you, that we are indebted for this. I attach a value to the success of your labors. They tend to enlighten my people. They are essential to the glory of my crown. I have heard with satisfaction the report you have just made to me. You may rely on my protection."<sup>4</sup>

THE following anecdote will afford a correct idea of the manner in which Madame de Montesquiou managed the King of Rome. The apartments of the young Prince were on the ground floor, and looked out on the court of the Tuileries. At almost every hour in the day, numbers of people were looking in at the window, in hope of seeing him. One day when he was in a violent fit of passion, and rebelling furiously against the authority of Madame de Montesquiou, she immediately ordered all the shutters to be closed. The child, surprised at the sudden darkness, asked Maman Quiou, as he used to call her, what it all meant. "I love you too well," she replied, "not to hide your anger from the crowd in the court yard. You, perhaps, will one day be called to govern all those people, and what would they say if they saw you in such a fit of rage? Do you think they would ever obey you, if they knew you to be so wicked?" Upon which, the child asked her pardon, and promised never again to give way to such fits of anger.

"This," observed the Emperor, "was language very different from that addressed by M. de Villeroi to Louis XV. 'Behold all those people, my Prince,' said he, 'they belong to you, all the men you see yonder are yours'."

THE Emperor had conceived many novel ideas relative to the education of the King of Rome. For this important object he decided on the Institute de Meudon, of which he had already laid down the principles, with the view of farther developing it at his leisure. There he proposed to assemble the Princes of the Imperial house, particularly the sons of those branches of the family who had been raised to foreign thrones. In this institution he intended that the Princes should receive the attentions of private tuition, combined with the advantages of public education. "These

children," said the Emperor, "who were destined to occupy different thrones, and to govern different nations, would thus have acquired conformity of principles, manners and ideas. The better to facilitate the amalgamation and uniformity of the federative parts of the Empire, each Prince was to bring with him from his country ten or twelve youths about his own age, the sons of the first families in the state. What an influence would they not have exercised on their return home! I doubted not," continued the Emperor, "but that Princes of other dynasties, unconnected with my family, would soon have solicited, as a great favour, permission to place their sons in the Institute of Meudon. What advantages would thence have arisen to the nations composing the European association! All these young Princes," said he, "would have been brought together early enough to be united in the tender and powerful bonds of youthful friendship; and they would, at the same time, have been separated early enough to obviate the fatal effects of rising passions—the ardour of partiality—the ambition of success—the jealousy of love."<sup>6</sup>

"WHAT a rising generation I leave behind me!" said he. "This is all my work! The merits of the French youth will be a sufficient revenge to me. On beholding the work all must render justice to the workman! and the perverted judgment or bad faith of declaimers must fall before my deeds. If I had thought only of myself, and securing my own power, as has been continually asserted, I should have endeavored to hide learning under a bushel; instead of which I devoted myself to the propagation of knowledge. And yet the youth of France have not enjoyed all the benefits which I intended they should. My University, according to the plan I had conceived, was a masterpiece in its com-

binations, and would have been such in its national results. But an evil disposed person spoiled all, and in so doing he was actuated by the worst of feelings, and doubtless, by a calculation of consequences”

“ONLY those,” said the Emperor, “who seek to deceive the people, and rule for their own advantage, wish to keep them in ignorance, for the more enlightened the people are, the greater will be the number of those convinced of the necessity of having and of supporting laws, and the more settled, prosperous, and happy will society be, and if a time shall arrive when intelligence will be injurious to the masses, it will only be when the government, in hostility to the interests of the people, shall crowd it into a forced position, or reduce the lowest class to starvation, for then the multitude will use its greater intelligence either to defend itself or to commit crimes”

At about twelve o'clock I\* went to the Emperor's apartment. He took a good lesson of English in Telemachus; he resolved to take up my method again, he approves of it, he said, and derives great benefit from it. He observed that he thought I had excellent dispositions for being a very good schoolmaster, I told him it was the fruit of my experience. He then made me enter into a great many details respecting the time when I gave lessons in London, during my emigration, and he was very much amused by them. “However,” said he, “you, gentlemen, must have done credit to the professions, if not by your learning, at least by your manners.” I told him that one of our Princes had taught mathematics during his emigration. “And this alone,” said he, with animation, “would make a man of him, and shew

\* Las Cases.



him to have possessed some merit; that is assuredly one of the greatest triumphs of Madame de Genlis."<sup>9</sup>

NAPOLÉON observed, that I\* had made a considerable progress in French since he had first seen me, "though you have," said he, "a very bad accent. It has been said by some of the English, that I understand Italian better than French, which is not true. Although I speak the Italian very fluently, it is not pure. *Non parlo Toscano*, nor am I capable of writing a book in Italian, nor do I ever speak it in preference to the French."<sup>10</sup>

THIS turn of the conversation naturally led the Emperor to speak of his son. "What education will they give him?" said he. "What sort of principles will they ingraft in his youthful mind? On the other hand, if he should prove weak in intellect—if he should bear any resemblance to the . . . !—if they should inspire him with hatred of his father! These thoughts fill me with horror! and where is the antidote of all this? Henceforth there can be no certain medium of communication—no faith tradition between him and me! At best my Memoirs, or perhaps your Journal, may fall into his hands. But to subdue the false precepts imbibed in early life, to counteract the errors of a bad education, requires a certain capacity, a certain strength of mind and decision of judgment which fall not to the share of every one."

He concluded the evening by reading a part of Don Quixote. He was much amused at some comic passages; and laying down the book, he remarked that we certainly showed a great deal of courage, since we could laugh at such trifles under our present circumstances. He paused

\* Dr. O'Meara.

for some moments, and seemed deeply wrapped in thought, then rising, he withdrew, saying "Adieu, my dear friends" <sup>11</sup>

WILL it be believed that an English military officer of high rank, a man of considerable intelligence, begged that I\* would tell him candidly whether Napoleon was really capable of writing. He took it for granted that he was a mere soldier and nothing else. He seemed, indeed, almost to doubt whether he could read. I laughed, and asked whether he had ever seen his military proclamations? He replied that he had, but that he supposed these had been made for him. This officer was much astonished, and acknowledged he had nothing further to say on this subject, when I informed him that, at the age of twenty seven, Napoleon had been a member of the French Institute, undoubtedly the first learned establishment in Europe.

I had now an opportunity of answering many questions that were addressed to me respecting the Emperor, the theme on which I always dwelt fondly. How many prejudices did I not destroy? How much astonishment did I not create? It would now be difficult to conceive how many atrocious and absurd reports respecting the Emperor had gained credit <sup>12</sup>

"THERE never will be," said Napoleon 'a fixed political state of things in this country till we have a corps of teachers instructed on established principles. So long as the people are not taught from their earliest years, whether they ought to be Republicans or Royalists, Christians or Infidels, the state cannot be properly called a nation, for it must rest on a foundation which is vague and uncertain, and it will be forever exposed to disorders and fluctuations' <sup>13</sup>

\* Count Las Cases on his return to Europe

## INSTRUCTIONS TO PRINCE EUGENE

"Speak as little as possible; you have not sufficient knowledge, and your education has been too much neglected for you to plunge into impromptu debate. Learn how to listen and remember that silence often produces as much effect as knowledge. Don't blush to ask questions. Though a viceroy, you are but twenty-three years old, and whatever flattery may tell you, people are perfectly aware of just how much you know, and think better of you for what you may become, than for what they know you to be."

## XI

### LITERATURE

'Men and passions are the subjects to write about—there is something there for study'

NAPOLEON

SETTING aside the period of his youth and beginning with his return from Egypt, students of Napoleon's career wonder how he managed to find opportunities for his extensive reading. His interest in literature enabled him to divert his mind from the cares of statecraft and the conduct of his campaigns. During the long journeys from the capitol to the camps, he spent the time principally in reading a large supply of books having been placed in his carriage. The long and dreary years of exile were rendered more easily to be endured by reason of an abiding zest for knowledge and an appreciation of the genius of great authors, which the records of his companions at St. Helena show he continued to manifest until within a short time of his death.

SHORTLY afterwards I\* asked Bonaparte how long he intended to remain in Egypt. He replied, "A few months or six years all depends on circumstances. I will colonize the country. I will bring them artists and artisans of every description, women, actors, etc. We are nine and twenty now, and we shall then be five and thirty. That is not an old age. Those six years will enable me, if all goes well to get to India. Give out that you are going to Brest. Say so even to your family." I obeyed, to prove my discretion and real attachment to him.

Bonaparte wished to form a camp library of cabinet

\* Bourienne

editions, and he gave me a list of the books which I was to purchase. This list is in his own writing, and is as follows:—

1. ARTS AND SCIENCE.—*Fontenelle's Worlds*, 1 vol. *Letters to a German Princess*, 2 vols. *Courses of the Normal School*, 6 vols. *The Artillery Assistant*, 1 vol. *Treatise on Fortifications*, 3 vols. *Treatise on Fireworks*, 1 vol.
2. GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.—*Barclay's Geography*, 12 vols. *Cook's Voyages*, 3 vols. *LaHarpe's Travels*, 24 vols.
3. HISTORY.—*Plutarch*, 12 vols. *Turenne*, 2 vols. *Conde*, 4 vols. *Villars*, 4 vols. *Luxembourg*, 2 vols. *Duguesclin*, 2 vols. *Saxe*, 3 vols. *Memoirs of the Marshals of France*, 20 vols. *President Hainault*, 4 vols. *Chronology*, 2 vols. *Marlborough*, 4 vols. *Prince Eugene*, 6 vols. *Philosophical History of India*, 12 vols. *Germany*, 2 vols. *Charles XII.*, 1 vol. *Polybius*, 6 vols. *Justin*, 2 vols. *Arrian*, 3 vols. *Tacitus*, 2 vols. *Titus Livy*. *Thucydides*, 2 vols. *Vertot*, 4 vols. *Denina*, 8 vols. *Frederick II.*, 8 vols.
4. POETRY.—*Ossian*, 1 vol. *Tasso*, 6 vols. *Ariosto*, 6 vols. *Homer*, 6 vols. *Virgil*, 4 vols. *The Henriade*, 1 vol. *Telemachus*, 2 vols. *Les Jardins*, 1 vol. *The Chefs-d'Oeuvre of the French Theatre*, 20 vols. *Select Light Poetry*, 10 vols. *La Fontaine*.
5. ROMANCE.—*Voltaire*, 4 vols. *Heloise*, 4 vols. *Werther*, 1 vol. *Marmontel*, 4 vols. *English Novels*, 40 vols. *Le Sage*, 10 vols. *Prevost*, 10 vols.
6. POLITICS AND MORALS.—*The Old Testament*. *The New Testament*. *The Koran*. *The Vedan*. *Mythology*. *Montesquieu*. *The Esprit des Loix*.

It will be observed that he classed the books of the religious creeds of nations under the head of "politics"

The autograph copy of the above list contains some of those orthographical blunders which Bonaparte so frequently committed. Whether these blunders are attributable to the limited course of instruction he received at Brienne, or his hasty writing, the rapid flow of his ideas, or the little importance he attached to that indispensable condition of polite education, I know not. Knowing so well as he did the authors and generals whose names appear in the above list, it is curious that he should have written *Duceching* for Duguesclin, and *Ocean* for Ossian. The latter mistake would have puzzled me not a little had I not known his predilection for the Caledonian bard."

TO M. FOUCHE, MINISTER OF POLICE

Paris, 10th March, 1808

Make known my displeasure to the editor of the *Journal des Débats*, who prints nothing but nonsense in his paper. He must indeed be a simpleton to say, in an article from Hamburg, that the King of Sweden could, with the help of England, raise an army of 100,000 men. Let him write an article making game of these 100,000 men, for tomorrow's issue. The King of Sweden could not raise more than 15,000 regiments of deserters. It is ridiculous therefore, to draw attention to such a struggle. Sweden will lose Finland, that is the clearest point about it. Truly our newspapers are all very silly, and their folly has evil consequences, because it gives a certain moral importance to Princes who are nothing at all."

TO M. FOUCHE, MINISTER OF POLICE

Bayonne, 25th April, 1808.

The Journal de l'Empire still goes badly. What business has it to insert Mr. Canning's speech in the Copenhagen intelligence? Had the editor that speech before him? Ought he to have inserted it without knowing that it suited me? That young man is either an ill-disposed person, or a fool; tell him so from me. If he does not change his ways, I shall change the editor. I conclude him to be a fool who allows himself to be swayed by the Clique.

The difference between the Journal de Paris, and the Journal de l'Empire, clearly appears in the manner in which the Copenhagen news is edited in each. The Journal de Paris avoids saying anything objectionable. Make that clear, and send me Mr. Canning's speech.

Mons. Etienne is the cause of the present agitation in France, about Roman affairs. Pray have all the old editors, who are so hot against the present Administration, turned away.

I had also forbidden the newspapers to refer to priests, sermons, or religion. Does not the Journal des Debats give extracts from sermons, homilies, and other things of that kind? Will the police be good enough to do my will at last? Is it not absurd, and contrary to the nature of sacred subjects, to see them called into question in newspapers full of falsehoods, and idle matters?

Cause the newspaper articles which assert that 400 millions were found in the possession of the Prince of Peace to be turned into ridicule. Let it be known that not a half-penny was found; that if the Government found all that money, we wish it joy; that in that case, it will be able to give its troops their pay. The real truth is, that the Prince

of Peace has nothing, either in England, in Italy, in France, or at Genoa, and that not a million's worth of diamonds and current cash was found in his house<sup>3</sup>

THE publication of *Atala* and the *Genie du Christianisme* suddenly gave Chateaubriand celebrity, and attracted the attention of the First Consul Bonaparte, who then meditated the restoration of religious worship in France, found himself wonderfully supported by the publication of a book which excited the highest interest, and whose superior merit led the public mind to the consideration of religious topics. I remember Madame Bacciocchi coming one day to visit her brother with a little volume in her hand, it was *Atala*. She presented it to the First Consul, and begged he would read it. "What, more romances!" exclaimed he. "Do you think I have time to read all your fooleries?" He, however, took the book from his sister and laid it down on my desk. Madame Bacciocchi then solicited the erasure of M. de Chateaubriand's name from the lists of emigrants. "Oh! oh!" said Bonaparte, "it is Chateaubriand's book, is it? I will read it then. Bourrienne, write to Fouché to erase his name from the list!"

BONAPARTE was very fond of Bernardin Saint-Pierre's romance of *Paul and Virginia*, which he read in his boyhood. I remember that he one day tried to read *Les Etudes de la Nature*, but at the expiration of a quarter of an hour he threw down the book, exclaiming, "How can any one read such silly stuff? It is insipid and vapid; there is nothing in it. These are the dreams of a visionary! What is nature? the thing is vague and unmeaning. Men and passions are the subjects to write about—there is something there for study. These fellows are good for nothing under any gov-



ernment. I will, however, give them pensions, because I ought to do so, as Head of the State. They occupy and amuse the idle. I will make Lagrange a Senator—he has a head.”

THAT day the conversation turned on the Golden Bull which, up to the establishment of the confederation of the Rhine, had served as constitution and regulation for the election of emperors, the number and quality of the electors, etc. The Prince-primate entered into some details concerning this Golden Bull, which he said was made in 1409. The Emperor Napoleon called his attention to the fact that the date was not exact, and that it was proclaimed in 1336, under the reign of the Emperor Charles IV. “True, sire,” responded the Prince-primate, “I was mistaken; but how does it happen that Your Majesty is so well acquainted with such things?” “*When I was a simple second lieutenant of artillery,*” said Napoleon . . . at this beginning there was a movement of very marked interest on the part of the illustrious guests. He resumed, smiling . . . “When I had the honor to be a simple second lieutenant of artillery, I was in garrison for three years at Valence. I cared little for society and lived in great retirement. A happy chance had lodged me near a bookseller who was learned and obliging . . . I read and re-read his library during those three years in garrison, and have forgotten nothing, even matters bearing no relation to my position. Nature, moreover, had endowed me with a memory for figures; it often happens when with my ministers that I cite for them the details and numerical total of their oldest accounts.”<sup>5</sup>

To his Minister of Police he writes: “That detestable journal, *Le Citoyen Français*, seems only to wish to wallow in

blood. For eight days running we have been entertained with nothing but the Saint Bartholomew. Who on earth is the editor (*redacteur*) of this paper? With what gusto this wretch relishes the crimes and misfortunes of our fathers! My intention is that you should put a stop to it. Have the editor (*directeur*) of this paper changed, or suppress it."

TO M. FOUCHE, DUC D'OTRANTE, MINISTER OF POLICE

Paris, 12th March, 1810

"I frequently complain to the newspapers, but I do not believe the orders given them are ever sufficiently positive. This is what you should write to the editors:—

The editors are never to publish any news as to what I have done, drawn either from foreign newspapers or foreign correspondents. There is no difficulty about this. If a foreign newspaper says I have been to the Comedie Francaise, the French newspapers are not to repeat the fact; if they say I have made a treaty, published such or such an edict, it is not to be repeated—for a matter relating to the government should not come from abroad. Thus, if this rule were followed, one-half of the complaints to which the newspapers now give rise would disappear. It is ridiculous that it should be from a German newspaper that people hear I have sent Gobelins tapestry to the Emperor of Austria. The journalist paper must clearly be a simpleton, and no justification can be offered for him."<sup>a</sup>

HE occupied himself by collecting a library.\* In passing through Frejus he bought 240 francs worth of books and a Bible compiled by Silvestre de Saey in thirty-two volumes. At Lyons he bought a herbarium. Several cases of books from his library at Fontainebleau had arrived by the Guards'

\* At Elba.

commissariat wagons, and others had been ordered from Venice, Genoa, or Leghorn; those he kept were all rebound and stamped with an N or an eagle. The books sent for his approbation were often the fag-ends of libraries, odd volumes or works without any interest, which he returned. Amongst these literary remains were some books which had been forbidden by the censor during his reign. These he read, and for the greater number could not discover the reason of the censure. However, during his palmy days it had been no easy matter to foresee what might displease him.<sup>7</sup>

ON the ground floor\* is what remains of the imperial library. The titles of the books make an interesting study, showing the almost universal range of the Emperor's literary tastes. Side by side with the works of Vauban and Maurice Saxe, with books on mechanics, chemistry, and military science, are ancient and modern history, archæology, natural history, and literature, Montaigne, La Fontaine, "Don Quixote," and sixty volumes of Voltaire.

The most astonishing discovery, however, is a large number of imaginative works, principally *Le Cabinet des Fees*, in forty volumes, containing stories and legends of all countries, from "The Arabian Nights" to Fenelon and Perrault, and fables of India and China. Napoleon, the type of brute force, was also a dreamer. What else but a dream was his stupendous project of uniting the whole of Europe in one vast empire? And we are presently to see him, like Louis of Bavaria, dreaming of some fantastic palace on the summit of Volterraio, losing himself in ecstasy, on Monte Giove, at the sight of sky and clouds, at the midnight heavens teeming with stars; loving to wander in shady

\* Palace at Elba.

woods by murmuring streams on Monte Marciana. In his boyhood he had loved Ossian and his romantic poetry, and all his life he retained something of the old Corsican superstitions he had drunk in with his mother's milk. If these dreams of the past were put aside in his working hours, we may still imagine that before he slept at night he allowed himself to turn the pages of "Ali Baba," "The Fair One with the Golden Locks," or "Blue Bird."

THE Emperor still continued unwell. He had passed a bad night. At his desire I dined with him beside the sofa, which he was unable to leave. He was, however, evidently much better. He had a heap of books scattered around him on the sofa. The rapidity of his imagination, the fatigue of dwelling always on the same subject, or of reading what he already knew, caused him to take up and throw down the books one after the other. At length he fixed on Racine's *Iphigenia*, and amused himself by pointing out the beauties, and discussing the few faults to be found in that work. He dismissed me at an early hour.\*

THE Emperor summoned me to attend him at an early hour. He began to read the *Nouvelle Heloise*, frequently remarking on the ingenuity and force of the arguments, the elegance of the style and expressions. He read for upwards of two hours. This reading made a powerful impression on me; it produced a deep melancholy—a mingled feeling of tenderness and sorrow. I had always been fond of the work, and it now awakened happy recollections, and excited deep regret. The Emperor frequently smiled at me. During breakfast the *Nouvelle Heloise* was the topic of conversation.

"Jean Jacques has overcharged his subject," said the Emperor; "he has painted madness. Love should be a source

of pleasure, not of misery," I alleged that Jean-Jacques had described nothing which a man might not feel, and that even the misery to which the Emperor alluded was, in reality, happiness. —"I see," said he, "you have a little touch of the romantic: has Love's misery rendered you happy?"—"I do not complain of my fate, sire," replied I; "were I to begin life again, I should wish to retrace the course I have already pursued."

The Emperor resumed his reading after breakfast; but he paused occasionally: the enchantment seemed to seize him in his turn. He at length laid down the book, and we went out to the garden. "Really," said he, as we walked along, "this work is not without fire; it moves, it rouses the feelings." We discussed the subject deeply; we were very prolix in our remarks, and we at length agreed that perfect love is like ideal happiness; that both are equally airy, fugitive, mysterious, and inexplicable; and that, finally, love is the business of the idle man, the recreation of the warrior, and the ruin of the sovereign.<sup>10</sup>

ANOTHER day the Emperor was reading Paul and Virginia; he gave full effect to the touching passages, which were always the most simple and natural; those which abounded with the pathos, the abstract and false ideas so much in fashion when the work was published, were all, in the Emperor's opinion, cold, bad, spoiled. He said he had been infatuated with this book in his youth; but he had little personal regard for its author: he could never forgive him for having imposed on his generosity on his return from the Army of Italy. "Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's sensibility and delicacy," said he, "were little in harmony with his charming picture of Paul and Virginia. He was a bad man; he used his wife, Didot the printer's daughter, very ill; he

was always ready to ask charity, without the least shame. On my return from the Army of Italy, Bernardin came to see me, and almost immediately began to tell me of his wants. I, who in my early youth had dreamed of nothing but Paul and Virginia, and felt flattered by a confidence which I imagined was reposed in me alone, and which I attributed to my great celebrity, hastened to return his visit, and, unperceived by any one, left on the corner of his chimney-piece a little rouleau of five-and twenty louis. But how was I mortified on seeing every one laugh at the delicacy of my proceeding, and on learning that such ceremony was entirely superfluous with M. Bernardin, who made it his trade to beg of all comers, and to receive from everybody. I always retained some little resentment towards him, for having thus imposed upon me. It was otherwise with my family. Joseph allowed him a large pension, and Louis was constantly making him presents.

But though the Emperor liked Paul and Virginia, he laughed, for very pity, at the *Studies of Nature*, by the same author. "Bernardin," said he, 'though versed in belles lettres, was very little of a geometrician, this last work was so bad that scientific men disdained to answer it. Bernardin complained loudly of their not noticing him. The celebrated mathematician Lagrange, when speaking on this subject, always said, alluding to the Institute, "If Bernardin were one of our class—if he spoke our language, we could call him to order, but he belongs to the Academy, and his style is not of our line." Bernardin was complaining as usual, one day, to the First Consul of the silence of the learned with respect to his works. Napoleon asked, "Do you understand the differential method, M. Bernardin?"—"No"—"Well, go and learn it, and then you will be able to answer yourself." Afterwards, when Emperor, every time

he perceived Saint-Pierre, he used to say to him, "M. Bernardin, when are we to have any more Paul and Virginias, or Indian Cottages? You ought to supply us every six months."

In reading Vertot's Roman Revolutions, of which in other respects the Emperor thinks highly, we found the declamations much too diffuse. This was his constant complaint against every work he took up; he had in his youth, he said, been much to blame in this respect himself. He may justly be said to have thoroughly reformed afterwards. He amused himself with striking out the superfluous phrases in Vertot; and the result was that after these erasures, the work appeared much more energetic and animated. "It would certainly be a most valuable and successful labour," said he, "if any man of taste and discernment would devote his time to reducing the principal works in our language in this manner. I know nobody but Montesquieu who would escape these curtailments." He often looked into Rollin, whom he thought diffuse, and too credulous. Crevier, his continuator, seemed to Napoleon detestable. He complained of our classical works, and of the time which our young people are compelled to lose in reading such bad books. They were composed by rhetoricians, and mere professors, he said; whereas such immortal subjects, the basis of all our knowledge throughout life, ought to have been written and edited by statesmen and men of the world. The Emperor had excellent ideas on this subject; the want of time alone prevented him from carrying them into execution.<sup>1</sup>

"BUT to return to Voltaire," said he, "it is astonishing how ill his dramas are adapted for reading.—When criticism and good taste are not cheated by pomp of diction and scenic illusion, he immediately loses a thousand per cent. It will

scarcely be believed," continued he, "that at the time of the Revolution, Voltaire had superseded Corneille and Racine." The beauties of these two great dramatists lay dormant, until the First Consul again ushered them into notice<sup>12</sup>

AFTER dinner the Emperor amused himself by reading, in Goldsmith's publication, some of his own proclamations to the army of Italy. They even produced a powerful impression on himself, they interested and excited him. "And yet," said he, "they had the impudence to say I could not write!"

He then turned to his proclamations to the army of Egypt, and joked much about that one in which he represented himself as inspired and sent by God. "This was quackery," said he, "but it was quackery of the highest order. Besides, the proclamation was composed only for the purpose of being translated into high flown Arabic verse by one of the cleverest of the Sheiks. My French troops," continued he, "merely laughed at it, and such was their disposition in this respect, that in order to induce them to listen to the bare mention of religion, I was myself obliged to speak very lightly on the subject, to place Jews beside Christians, and Rabbis beside Bishops."<sup>13</sup>

WHEN conversing on the *Iliad*, he took up an edition of Homer, and read aloud several cantos. The Emperor greatly admired the *Iliad*. "It was," he said, "like the Books of Moses, the token and the pledge of the age in which it was produced. Homer, in his epic poem, has proved himself a poet, an orator, an historian, a legislator, a geographer, and a theologian. He may be justly called the encyclopedist of the period in which he flourished."<sup>14</sup>



AFTER dinner the Emperor asked what we would read and we all decided for the Bible. "This is certainly very edifying," said the Emperor; "it would never be guessed in Europe." He read to us the book of Joshua, observing at almost every town or village that he named: "I encamped there; I carried that place by assault; I gave battle here, etc."<sup>15</sup>

AFTER dinner the Emperor read *Œdipus*, which he admired exceedingly. He next took up *Brutus*, of which he gave us a very remarkable analysis. He observed that Voltaire seemed not to have entered into the right feeling for his subject. "The Romans," said he, "were guided by patriotism as we are by honour. Voltaire has not portrayed the real sublimity of *Brutus*, sacrificing his sons for the welfare of his country and in spite of the pangs of paternal affection. He has made him a monster of pride, decreeing the death of his children, for the sake of preserving his power, his name, and his celebrity. The other characters of the tragedy," he added, "are equally misconceived. *Tullia* is described as a fury who takes advantage of her situation; and not as a woman of tender sentiment who might be led into crime by seduction and dangerous influence."<sup>16</sup>

THE Emperor had just run over a great many numbers of the *Moniteur*. "These *Moniteurs*," said he, "so terrible and dangerous to so many reputations, are uniformly useful and favourable to me alone. It is with official documents that men of sense and real talents will write history; now, these documents are full of the spirit of my government." It was the intermediate instrument of his communications with public opinion, both abroad and at home. Every government has since followed his example, more or

less in that respect "Whatever serious fault might be committed by any of the high functionaries employed in the interior, immediately," said the Emperor, "an enquiry was set on foot by three Counsellors of State They made their report to me, in which they ascertained the facts and discussed the principles For my own part I had nothing more to do than to write at the bottom—*Dispatched for execution according to the laws of the republic, or of the empire* My interference was at an end, the public result accomplished, and popular opinion did justice to the transaction It was the most formidable and dreadful of my tribunals Did any question arise abroad respecting certain grand political combinations or some delicate points of diplomacy? The objects were indirectly hinted at in the *Moniteur* They instantly attracted universal attention and became the topics of general investigation This conduct was at once the orderly signal for the adherents of the throne and an appeal for all parties to public opinion The *Moniteur* has been reproached for the acrimony and virulence of its notes against the enemy But before we condemn them, we are bound to take into consideration the benefits they may have produced, the anxiety with which they occasionally perplexed the enemy, the terror with which they struck a hesitating cabinet, the stimulus which they gave to our allies, the confidence and audacity with which they inspired our troops "

The conversation next turned upon the liberty of the press, and the Emperor asked our opinions We talked for a long time very idly on the subject, and threw out a great number of commonplace ideas Some were hostile to it "Nothing," said they, "can resist the liberty of the press It is capable of overthrowing every government of agitating every society, of destroying every reputation " "It is only,"

observed others, "its prohibition that is dangerous. If it be restricted, it becomes a mine that must explode, but if left to itself it is merely an unbent bow, that can inflict no wound."<sup>17</sup>

He afterwards sent for the *Corinna* of Madame de Stael, and read some chapters of it. He said he could not get through it. Madame de Stael had drawn so complete a likeness of herself, in her heroine, that she had succeeded in convincing him that it was herself; "I see her," said he, "I hear her, I feel her, I wish to avoid her, and I threw away the book. I had a better impression of the work on my memory, than what I feel at present. Perhaps, it is because, at the time, I read it with my thumb, as M. l'Abbe de Pradt ingeniously says, and not without some truth. I shall, however persevere; I am determined to see the end of it; I still think that it is not destitute of some interest. Yet I cannot forgive Madame de Stael for having undervalued the French in her romance. The family of Madame de Stael is unquestionably a very singular one! Her father, her mother, and herself, all three on their knees, regaling each other with reciprocal incense, for the better edification and mystification of the public. Madame de Stael may, notwithstanding, exult in supassing her noble parents, when she presumed to write, since her sentiments for her father were such, that she detected herself in being jealous of her mother."

After dinner he read *Le Tartufe*; but he was so fatigued that he could not get through it. He laid down the book, and after paying a just tribute of eulogy to Molière, he concluded in a manner which we little expected. "The whole of the *Tartufe*," he remarked, "is unquestionably finished with the hand of a master, it is one of the chefs d'oeuvre of an

inimitable writer This piece is, however, marked with such a character, that I am not at all surprised, its appearance should have been the subject of interesting negotiating at Versailles, and of a great deal of hesitation on the part of Louis XIV If I have the right to be astonished at anything, it is at his allowing it to be performed It holds out, in mind, devotion under such odious colours, a certain scene presents so decisive a situation, so completely indecent, that for my part, I do not hesitate to say, if the comedy had been written in my time I would not have allowed it to be represented "18

THE Emperor did not quit his chamber until the moment dinner was announced He resumed his remarks on Madame de Maintenon, whose letters he had been reading "I am charmed," said he, "with her style, her grace, and the purity of her language If I am violently offended by what is bad, I am at the same time exquisitely sensible to what is good I think I prefer Madame de Maintenon's letters to those of Madame de Sevigne they tell more Madame de Sevigne will certainly always remain the true model of the epistolary style, she has a thousand charms and graces, but there is this defect in her writings, that one may read a great deal of them without retaining any impression of what one has read They are like a dish of egg snow-balls, of which a man can eat till he is tired without overcharging his stomach" The Emperor then made some observations on grammar He asked for the grammar of Domairon, who had been our professor at the military school at Paris He glanced through it with evident pleasure "Such is the influence of youthful impressions," said he, "I suspect that Domairon's is not the best of grammars, yet to me it will

always be the most agreeable, I shall never open it without experiencing a certain pleasure."<sup>10</sup>

He wanted something to read, and looked over his brother Lucien's poem of Charlemagne. He analyzed the first canto, and afterwards glanced at a few others: he then examined the subject and the plan of the work, etc. "How much labor, ingenuity and time," he observed, "have been thrown away upon this book; what a wreck of judgment and taste! Here are twenty thousand verses, some of which may be good, for aught I know; but they are destitute of interest design, or effect. It might have been regarded as a compulsory task, had it been written by a professed author. Why did not Lucien, with all his good sense, consider that Voltaire, master as he was of the French language and the art of poetry, failed in a similar attempt, though that attempt was made in Paris, in the midst of the sanctuary. How could Lucien suppose it was possible to write a French poem when living at a distance from the French capital? How could he pretend to introduce a new metre? He has written a history in verse, and not an epic poem. An epic poem should not be the history of a man, but of a passion or an event. And, then, what a subject has Lucien chosen? What barbarous names has he introduced! Does he think he has succeeded in raising up the religion which he conceived to be fallen? Is his poem intended as a work of reaction? It certainly bears the stamp of the soil on which it was written: it is full of prayers, priests, the temporal authority of the Popes, etc. How could he think of devoting twenty thousand lines to absurdities which do not belong to the present age, to prejudices which he could not enter into, and opinions which he could not entertain. What a misapplication of talent! He might undoubtedly have produced some-

thing more creditable to himself, for he possesses judgment, facility, and industry. He was in Rome amidst the richest research. He understands the Italian language, and as we have no good history of Italy, he might have written one. His talent, his situation, his knowledge of affairs, his rank, might have enabled him to produce an excellent classic work. It would have been a valuable acquisition to the literary world and would have conferred honor on its author. But what is *Charlemagne*? what reputation will it gain? It will be buried in the dust of the libraries, and its author will obtain at most a few scanty and perhaps ridiculous notices in biographical dictionaries. If Lucien could not resist the temptation of scribbling verses, he should have prepared a splendid manuscript, embellished with elegant designs and superb binding, with which he might now and then have gratified the eyes of the ladies, occasionally allowing a few quotations from it to creep into publicity, and finally he should have left it to his heirs with a severe prohibition against submitting it to the press. One might then have been able to understand his taste.' <sup>20</sup>

"We have no good history," observed he, "and we could not have any, and the other nations of Europe were nearly in the same predicament as ourselves. Monks and privileged individuals, that is, men friendly to abuses and inimical to information and learning, have monopolized this branch of writing, they had told us what they thought proper, or rather that which favored their interests, gratified their passions, or agreed with their own views—He had formed," he said, "a plan for remedying the evil as much as possible", he intended, for instance, to appoint commissions from the Institute, or learned men whom public opinion might have pointed out to him, to revise, criticize, and republish our his-

torical annals. He wished also to add commentaries to the classic authors which are put in the hands of our youth, to explain them with reference to our modern institutions. What a good program, competition and rewards, this end would have been accomplished; every thing can be obtained by such means.<sup>21</sup>

"You do not write orthographically, do you?" This question gave rise to a sarcastic smile from a bystander, who thought it was meant to convey a reproach. The Emperor, who saw this, continued:—"At least, I suppose you do not; for a man occupied with public or other important business, a minister for instance, cannot, and need not, attend to orthography. His ideas must flow faster than his hand can trace; he has only time to place his points; he must put words in letters, and phrases in words; and let the scribes make it out afterwards."—The Emperor left a great deal for the copyists to do; he was their torment: his hand-writing actually formed hieroglyphics; he often could not decipher it himself. My son was one day reading to him a chapter of the Campaign of Italy; on a sudden he stooped short, unable to make out the writing. "The little blockhead," said the Emperor "cannot read his own hand-writing!" It is not mine, sire." "And whose then?" "Your Majesty's." "How so, you little rogue; do you mean to insult me?" The Emperor took the manuscript, tried a long time to read it, and at last threw it down, saying, "He is right: I cannot tell myself what is written." He has often sent the copyists to me, to try to read to them what he had himself been unable to decipher.<sup>22</sup>

AFTER dinner he resumed the reading of the Odyssey: we had arrived at the passage describing the combat between

Ulysses and Irus, on the threshold of the palace, both in the garb of beggars. The Emperor very much disapproved of this episode, which he pronounced to be mean, incongruous, and beneath the dignity of the King. "And yet," continued he, "independently of all the faults which, in my opinion, this incident presents, I still find in it something to interest me. I fancy myself in the situation of Ulysses, and then I can well conceive his dread of being overpowered by a wretched mendicant. Every prince or general has not the broad shoulders of his guards or grenadiers, every man has not the strength of a porter. But Homer has remedied all this by representing his heroes as so many colossi: we have no such heroes nowadays. What would become of us," he added, glancing round at us all, "if we lived in those good times when bodily vigor constituted real power? Why, Noverraz (his valet-de chambre) would wield the sceptre over us all. It must be confessed that civilization favors the mind entirely at the expense of the body." <sup>23</sup>

THE Emperor accounted for the clearness of his ideas, and the facility he possessed of being able to protract the duration of his application to the utmost, by saying that different ideas were put up in his head as in a closet. "When I wish to interrupt an affair," said he, "I close the drawer which contains it, and I open that which contains another. They do not mix together, and do not fatigue me nor inconvenience me." He had never been kept awake, he said, by an involuntary preoccupation of mind. "If I wish to sleep, I shut up all the drawers, and I am asleep." So that he had always, he added, slept when he wanted rest, and almost at will. <sup>24</sup>



"THOUGH Racine has produced chefs-d'oeuvre in themselves," said he, "yet, he has diffused over them a perpetual air of insipidity. Love is eternally introduced, with its tone of langour, and its tiresome accompaniments. But these faults must not be attributed entirely to Racine, but to the manners of the age in which he wrote. Love was then, at even a later period, the whole business of life with every one. This is always the case when society is in a state of idleness. As for us," said he, "our thoughts have been cruelly turned to other subjects, by the great events of the revolution."<sup>25</sup>

"WHEN only seventeen," said Napoleon, "I composed a little history of Corsica, which I submitted to the Abbe Raynal, who praised, and wished that I would publish it; adding, that it would do me much credit, and render great service to the cause then in agitation. I am," continued Napoleon, "very glad that I did not, as it was written in the spirit of the day, at the time when the rage for republicanism existed, and contained the strongest doctrines that could be promulgated in support of it. It was full of republicanism, and breathed freedom in every line, too much so indeed: I have since lost it. When at Lyon, in 1786, I gained a gold medal from the college on the following theme: 'What are the sentiments most advisable to be recommended, in order to render men happy'! When I was seated on the throne, a number of years afterwards, I mentioned this to Talleyrand, who sent off a courier to Lyon to procure the treatise, which he easily obtained. One day afterwards, when we were alone Talleyrand took it out of his pocket, and thinking to please and pay his court to me, put it into my hands, and asked if I knew it. I immediately recognized the writing, and threw it into the fire, where it was con-

sumed, in spite of Talleyrand's endeavors to save it. He was greatly mortified, as he had not taken the precaution of causing a copy to be made previous to shewing it to me. I was very much pleased, as the style of the work was similar to that on Corsica, abounding in republican ideas, and exalted sentiments of liberty, suggested by the warmth of a fervid imagination, at a moment when youth, and the rage of the times had inflamed my mind. The sentiments in it were too exalted ever to be put into practice' <sup>26</sup>

TO M. FOUCHÉ

Munich, 15th January, 1806

"I read in the *Journal de l'Empire* that there appears at the foot of a comedy written by Collin d'Harleville—'Seen and authorized the publication and sale in accordance with a decision of H. E. the Minister of Police, By order of H. E. the chief of the department for the Liberty of the Press.' I am astonished at these new forms, which the law could authorize. If it were necessary to establish a censure, that should be done only by my permission. It being my determination that the censorship shall not exist, I was much surprised to see in my empire, forms which may be all very well at Berlin and Vienna. I have long sought to re-establish the social edifice, today I am obliged to keep a lookout in order to maintain public liberty. I have no idea of Frenchmen becoming serfs. In France all that is not prohibited is allowed, and nothing can be prohibited except by laws, by the tribunals, or by the police, when it is a question of moral or public order. I say once more that I will have no censorship, because every publisher is answerable for the works he issues, because I will not be respon-

sible for the follies that are printed; because I will not suffer a clerk to tyrannize talent or to mutilate genius.

NAPOLEON."

"AN effective method of encouraging literature would be to establish a journal with an enlightened criticism, free from that coarse brutality which characterizes the existing newspapers and which is so contrary to the true interests of the nation. Journals now never criticise with the intention of repressing mediocrity, general inexperience, or encouraging rising merit. All their endeavour is to wither, to destroy. Articles should be selected for the journals when reasoning is mingled with eloquence, where praise for deserved merit is tempered with censure for faults. Merit, however inconsiderable, should be sought for and rewarded."

NAPOLEON.

## XII

### LAW

‘The Law should be clean, precise, uniform, to interpret is to corrupt it’

NAPOLEON

OUTSIDE of his military genius and the conquests which he made, probably Napoleon’s most enduring fame rests in causing his country to be presented with a complete new body of written law, which not only furnished the same laws for every department of France, embodying changes in old laws and introducing new enactments in harmony with the spirit of modern times, but which was made operative within the borders of each of the several countries that ultimately came under the control of the French Government. And finally, even after the fall of the Emperor, and the disintegration of the Empire, the Code Napoleon continued to be the law of these nations, and so exists even unto the present day.

The Code Napoleon claims today its two hundred million subjects. “The Law should be clean, precise, uniform; to interpret is to corrupt it” So ruled the Emperor, and now, a century later Archbishop Temple (born in one distant island the year Napoleon died in another) bears testimony to the beneficent sway of Napoleon’s Word Empire. Criticising English legal phraseology, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, “The French Code is always welcome in every country where it has been introduced, and where people have once got hold of it, they are unwilling to have it changed for any other, because it is *a marvel of clearness*.” Surely if ever Style is the Man, it is Napoleon, otherwise the inspection of over seven million words, as marshalled

forth in his correspondence, would not only confuse but confound. As it is, its "hum of armies, gathering rank on rank," has left behind what Bacon calls a conflation of sound, from which, however, as from Kipling's steel-sinewed symphony,

The clanging chorus goes—  
Law, Order, Duty and Restraint, Obedience, Discipline.

"WHAT is of particular consequence to me is, that you\* delay not in the least the introduction of the Napoleon Code. The happiness of your people is of importance to me, not only for the influence which it may have upon your glory and mine, but also under the point of view of the general system of Europe. Listen not to those who tell you that your people, accustomed to servitude, will receive your benefits unthankfully. They are more enlightened in the kingdom of Westphalia than some persons would fain persuade you. Your throne will never be firmly founded but on the confidence and the love of the population. What the people of Germany desire with impatience is, that individuals who are not noble, and possess talents, should have an equal right to your consideration and to offices; that every species of bondage, and all intermediate restrictions between the sovereign and the lowest class, should be entirely abolished.

The benefits of the Napoleon Code, the publicity of law proceedings, the institution of juries, will be so many distinguished characteristics of your monarchy. And, if I must tell you my whole mind, I reckon more upon their effects for the extension and consolidation of that monarchy than upon the results of the greatest victories. Your people must enjoy a liberty, an equality, a prosperity unknown to

\* Letter to his brother Jerome.

the other people of Germany This liberal government will produce, in one way or another, changes the most salutary to the system of the confederation and to the power of your monarchy This mode of governing will be a stronger barrier to separate you from Prussia than the Elbe, than a fortress, than the protection of France What people would be willing to return under the arbitrary Prussian government after it has tasted the benefits of a wise and liberal administration? The people of Germany, those of France, Italy, Spain, desire equality, and require liberal ideas It is now several years that I have directed the affairs of Europe, and I have had occasion to convince myself that the grumbling of the privileged classes was contrary to the general opinion Be a constitutional king If the reasoning and the intelligence of your times were not sufficient in your position good policy would enjoin it '2

THE Emperor while walking in the garden and discoursing on various subjects, spoke of the Institute, the manner in which it was composed, the spirit of its members etc When he took his place in the Institute on his return from the army of Italy, he said he might consider himself as the tenth member in his class, which consisted of about fifty

Lagrange, Laplace, and Monge, were at the head of this class It was rather a remarkable circumstance and one which attracted considerable notice at the time, to see the young General of the army of Italy take his place in the Institute, and publicly discuss profound metaphysical subjects with his colleagues He was then called the Geometrician of battles, and the Mechanician of victory

On becoming First Consul, Napoleon caused no less sensation in the Council of State He constantly presided at the sittings for drawing up the civil code 'Tronchet," he

said, "was the soul of this code, and he, Napoleon, was its demonstrator." Tronchet was gifted with a singularly profound and correct understanding; but he could not descend to developments. He spoke badly and could not defend what he proposed. "The whole Council," said the Emperor, "at first opposed his suggestions"; but Napoleon, with his shrewdness and facility of seizing and creating luminous and new relations, arose, and without any other knowledge of the subject than the correct basis furnished by Tronchet, developed his ideas, set aside objections, and brought every one over to his opinions.

The Minutes of the Council of State have transmitted to us the extempore speeches of the First Consul on most of the articles of the civil code. At every line we are struck with the correctness of his observations, the depths of his views, and in particular the liberality of his sentiments.

Thus in spite of the opposition that was set up to it, we are indebted to him for that article of the Code which enacts that *every individual born in France is a Frenchman*. "I should like to know," said he, "what inconvenience can possibly arise from acknowledging every man born in France to be a Frenchman? The extension of the French civil laws can only be attended by the advantageous consequences; thus instead of ordaining that individuals born in France of a foreign father, shall obtain civil privileges only when they declare themselves willing to enjoy them, it may be decreed that they will be deprived of those privileges only when they formally renounce them."<sup>3</sup>

HE projected a universal or complete code, so that there might be no other laws than those inscribed in this code, and that all which was not comprised therein might be pronounced, once for all, null and void: "for," added he, "in

virtue of some old edicts of Chilperic or Pharamond, dug up for the occasion, no one can say that he is safe from being duly and legally hanged”<sup>4</sup>

THE First Consul distinguished himself no less by his support of the article which *preserves the privileges of Frenchmen to children born of Frenchmen settled in foreign countries*, and this law he extended in spite of powerful opposition. “The French people,” said he, “who are a numerous and industrious people are scattered over every part of the world, and in course of time they will be scattered about in still greater numbers. But the French visit foreign countries only to make their fortunes. The acts by which they seem momentarily to attach themselves to foreign governments, have, for their object, only to obtain the protection necessary for their various speculations. If they should intend to return to France after realizing a fortune, would it be proper to exclude them?”<sup>5</sup>

‘LAWS which in theory are a model of clearness, become too often a chaos in their application, because men, with their passions, spoil everything they touch,      Men can only avoid being exposed to the arbitrary acts of the judge, by submitting to the despotism of the law,      I had at first fancied it would be possible to reduce all laws to simple geometrical demonstrations, so that every man who could read, and connect two ideas together, would be able to decide for himself. But I became convinced, almost immediately after, that this idea was absurd. However,” added he, “I should have wished to start from some fixed point, and follow one road known to all, have no other laws but those inserted in the code, and proclaim, once for all, that all laws that were not in the code were null and void. But



it is not so easy to obtain simplicity from practical lawyers: They first prove to you that simplicity is impossible, that it is a mere chimera: and endeavor next to demonstrate that it is incompatible with the stability and the existence of power. Power, they say, is exposed alone to the unexpected machinations of all; it must therefore have, in the moment of need, arms kept in reserve for unforeseen cases."

"So long as the subjects of discussion in the Council of State," said the Emperor, "were referable to the code, I felt very strong; but when they diverged from it, I was quite in the dark, and Merlin was then my resource—he was my light. Without possessing much brilliancy, Merlin is very learned, wise, upright, and honest; a veteran of the good old cause: he was very much attached to me.

"No sooner had the code made its appearance than it was almost immediately followed by commentaries, explanations, elucidations, interpretations and the Lord knows what besides. I usually exclaimed, on seeing this: Gentlemen, we have cleaned the stable of Augeas; for God's sake do not let it fill up again!"<sup>6</sup>

THE Emperor one day, in the course of conversation, observed, that if he had leisure, there were few institutions in which he would not have made improvements. He dwelt on the evils arising from lawsuits, which, he said, were an absolute leprosy, a social cancer. "My code," said he, "had singularly diminished lawsuits, by placing numerous causes within the decision of every individual. But there still remained much for the legislator to accomplish. Not that he could hope to prevent men from quarreling: that they have done in all ages; but he might have prevented a third party in society, from living upon the quarrels of the two others, and even stirring up disputes, to promote their

own interests It was, therefore, my intention to establish the rule, that lawyers should never receive fees except when they gained causes Thus what litigations would have been prevented! On the first examination of a cause a lawyer would have rejected it, had it been at all doubtful There would have been little fear that a man, living by his labor, would have undertaken to conduct a lawsuit, from mere motives of vanity, and if he had, he would himself have been the only sufferer in case of failure But my idea was opposed by a multitude of objections, and as I had no time to lose, I postponed the further consideration of the subject Yet I am still convinced," added he, "that the scheme might, with certain modifications, have been turned to the best account "

He would have wished to fix throughout Europe, uniformity of coins, weights, and measures, and also uniformity of legislation "Why," said he, "might not my Napoleon Code have served as the groundwork for an European Code, and my Imperial University have been the basis of an European University? Thus the whole population of Europe would have become one and the same family, and every man, while he travelled abroad, would still have found himself at home "

WHEN he was once suggesting a law project, to be drawn up by one of his Counsellors of State, he said, "Let me charge you to respect liberty, and above all, equality With regard to liberty, it might be possible to restrain it, in a case of extremity, circumstances might demand and justify such a step but heaven forbid that we should ever infringe upon equality! It is the passion of the age, and I wish to continue to be the man of the age!"

NAPOLÉON then said that he had asked Colonel Fagan several questions about the military penal code. "Of this subject," added he, "I am master, as I framed many of the laws myself. I am a doctor of laws and while the Code Napoléon was forming, I had repeated disputations and discussions with the compilers of it, who were astonished at the knowledge which I possessed on the subject. I also originated many of the best of its laws."<sup>9</sup>

SOME conversation took place about the mode of solemnizing marriage, in which I\* said that in England, when a Protestant and Catholic were married, it was necessary that the ceremony should be performed, first by a Protestant clergyman, and afterwards by a Roman Catholic priest. "That is wrong," said he, "marriage ought to be a civil contract; and on the parties going before a magistrate in the presence of witnesses and entering into an engagement, they should be considered as man and wife. This is what I caused to be done in France. If they wished it, they might go to the church afterwards and get a priest to repeat the ceremony; but this ought not to be considered as indispensable. It was always my maxim that those religious ceremonies should never be above the laws, take the lead or upper hand (*prendre l'essor*). I also ordained that marriage contracted by French subjects in foreign countries, when performed according to the laws of those countries, should be valid on the return of the parties to France."<sup>10</sup>

\* Dr. O'Meara.

## XIII

### DIVORCE

It is pretended that divorce is contrary to the interests of women and children, but nothing is more at variance with the interests of married persons when their homes are incompatible, than to reduce them to the alternative of either living together, or separating with publicity. Nothing is more opposite to domestic happiness than a divided family.

THOUGH when the law pertaining to divorce was adopted, in which Napoleon, as the head of the body engaged in the framing of the new code, incorporated his views, nothing was further from his thoughts than the idea that he would pass through this ordeal, he took a lively interest in the subject. Probably no feature of human experience presents a more intricate problem or more conflicting phases of duty and interest—none perhaps where there is greater divergence of opinion as to the proper method of control to promote the welfare of the people.

ON the subject of divorce, the First Consul was for the adoption of the principle, and spoke at great length on the ground of incompatibility, which it was attempted to repel.

"It is pretended," said he, "that divorce is contrary to the interests of women and children, and to the spirit of families, but nothing is more at variance with the interests of married persons, when their humors are incompatible, than to reduce them to the alternative of either living together, or of separating with publicity. Nothing is more opposite to domestic happiness than a divided family. Separation had formerly, with regard to the wife, the husband, and the children nearly the same effect as divorce, and yet

it was not so frequent as divorce now is. It was only attended with this additional inconvenience, that a woman of bad character might continue to dishonor her husband's name because she was permitted to retain it."

When opposing the drawing up of an article to specify the causes for which divorce would be admissible, he said: "But is it not a great misfortune to be compelled to expose these causes, and reveal even the most minute and private family details?

"Besides, will these causes, even in the event of their real existence, be always sufficient to obtain divorce? That of adultery, for instance, can only be successfully maintained by proofs, which it is always very difficult and sometimes even impossible to produce. Yet the husband, who should not be able to bring forward these proofs, would be compelled to live with a woman he abhors and despises, and who introduces illegitimate children into his family. His only resource would be separation from bed and board; but this would not shield his name from dishonour."

Resuming the support of the principle of divorce, and opposing certain restrictions, he continued: "Marriage is not always, as is supposed, the result of affection. A young female consents to marry for the sake of conforming to the fashion and obtaining independence and an establishment of her own. She accepts a husband of a disproportionate age, and whose tastes and habits do not accord with hers. The law then should provide for her a resource against the moment when, the illusion having ceased, she finds that she is united in ill-assorted bonds, and that her expectations have been deceived.

"Marriage takes its form from the manners, customs, and religion of every people. Thus its forms are not everywhere alike. In some countries, wives and concubines live

under the same roof, and slaves are treated like children the organization of families is therefore not deduced from the law of nature The marriages of the Romans were not like those of the French

“The precautions established by law for preventing persons from contracting unthinkingly at the age of fifteen or eighteen an engagement which extends to the whole of their lives, are certainly wise But are they sufficient?

“That after ten years passed in wedlock, divorce should not be admitted but for very weighty reasons is also a proper regulation Since, however, marriages contracted in early youth are rarely the choice of the parties themselves, but are brought about by their families for interested views, it is proper that, if the parties themselves perceive that they are not formed for one another, they should be enabled to dissolve a union on which they had no opportunity of reflecting The facility thus afforded them, however, should not tend to favour either levity or passion It should be surrounded by every precaution, and every form calculated to prevent its abuse The parties, for example, might be heard by a secret family council, held under the presidency of the magistrate In addition to this, it might, if thought necessary, be determined that a woman should only once be allowed to procure divorce, and that she should not be suffered to re marry in less than five years after, lest the idea of a second marriage should induce her to dissolve the first That after married persons have lived together for ten years, the dissolution should be rendered very difficult, and so forth

‘To grant divorce only on account of adultery publicly proved, is to proscribe it completely, for, on the one hand, few cases of adultery can be proved, and on the other, there are few men shameless enough to expose the infamy

of their wives. Besides, to reveal the scenes that pass in families; it might be concluded, though erroneously, that they afford a picture of our French manners."<sup>1</sup>

"My divorce," said he, "has no parallel in history; for it did not destroy the ties which united our families, and our mutual tenderness remained unchanged; our separation was a sacrifice demanded of us by reason, for the interest of my crown and of my dynasty. Josephine was devoted to me; she loved me tenderly; no one had a preference over me in her heart. I occupied the first place in it; her children the next; and she was right in thus loving me; for she is the being whom I have most loved, and the remembrance of her is still all-powerful in my mind."<sup>2</sup>

TO PRINCE CAMVACERES, GRAND CHANCELLOR OF THE EMPIRE

Trianon, 22nd December, 1809.

"Our brother, the King of Holland, having requested us to permit him to separate from his wife, Queen Hortense, we have thought proper to seek the opinion of the Family Council, both as to the request itself, and as to the measures to be taken to arrange everything relative to the respective interests of the parties. We therefore cause this letter to be sent to you, so that you may convoke the Family Council, which will be held in the Throne Room at the Tuileries. The Council will be presided over by yourself. Our brother, the King of Westphalia, is nominated to take part in it, and the Duke of Conegliano will be called as Senior Marshal of the Empire. The further composition of the Family Council will follow the rule prescribed by the Thirty-fourth Article of the Family Statute."<sup>3</sup>

"ON my return from Elba in 1815, Louis wrote a long letter to me from Rome, and sent an ambassador to me. It was his treaty, he said, the conditions upon which he would return to me. I answered that I would not make any treaty with him, that he was my brother, and that if he came back he would be well received.

"Will it be believed that one of his conditions was that he should be at liberty to divorce Hortense. I severely rebuked the negotiator for having dared to be the bearer of so absurd a proposal, and for having believed that such a measure could ever be made the subject of a negotiation. I reminded Louis that our family compact positively forbade it, and represented to him that it was no less forbidden by the laws of policy and morality, and by public opinion.

"I further assured him that, actuated by all these motives, if his children were to lose their estate through his fault, I should feel more interested for them than for him, although he was my brother.

"Perhaps an excuse might be found for the caprice of Louis's disposition, in the deplorable state of his health, the age at which it became deranged, and the horrible circumstances which produced that derangement, and which must have a considerable influence upon his mind, he was on the point of death on the occasion, and has, ever since, been subject to the most cruel infirmities. he is almost paralytic on one side."



## XIV.

### MEDICINE AND HEALTH

"Doctor, our body is a machine for the purpose of life; it is organized to that end—that is its nature. Leave the life there at its ease, let it take care of itself, it will do better than if you paralyze it by loading it with medicine."

NAPOLEON.

FOR his prominence in the affairs of the world during his lifetime, Napoleon was primarily indebted to his wonderful powers of endurance. On an occasion he remarked he had never known any man who was able to equal himself in this respect. Of all the professions, none requires greater physical strength than that which is essential for a military commander, who is compelled to be present during a series of engagements in the field. He placed the limit of active service at sixteen campaigns but his iron constitution enabled him far to exceed that number and at the same time personally manage the affairs of the vast Empire of which he was the head.

ON arriving before Jaffa, where there were already some troops, the first person I\* met was Adjutant-General Gresieux, with whom I was well acquainted. I wished him good-day, and offered him my hand. "Good God! what are you about?" said he, repulsing me with a very abrupt gesture; "you may have the plague. People do not touch each other here!" I mentioned the circumstance to Bonaparte, who said, "If he be afraid of the plague he will die of it." Shortly after, at St. Jean d'Acre, he was attacked by that malady, and soon sank under it.<sup>1</sup>

\* Bourrienne.

HE used often to say to me, "You see, Bourrienne, how temperate, and how thin I am, but, in spite of that, I cannot help thinking that at forty I shall become a great eater, and get very fat I foresee that my constitution will undergo a change I take a great deal of exercise, but yet I feel assured that my presentiment will be fulfilled""

THE First Consul paced to and fro for some time without saying a word This is known to have been his habit when deep in thought Suddenly he raised his head, and looking around him, asked for Corvisart, who soon appeared "Corvisart," said the First Consul, 'is it possible that a child should die of grief in consequence of no longer seeing some one it loves—its nurse for example?'

"I believe not," said Corvisart "At the same time, nothing is impossible, but nothing can be more rare than such a case, happily, or else what would become of us? We could not wean a child"

The First Consul looked at me triumphantly, and said, "I was sure of it" To this I said that I thought Dr Corvisart had been unfairly interrogated, and that I begged permission to put the question to him in its true shape I then, in a few words, repeated the history of my little nephew, and scarcely had he heard me out then he exclaimed, "That is quite another case', that a nurse was replaced by a governess, who lavished the same cares upon the child, and gave it food at the hours it had been accustomed to, but that affection distressed by absence, as that of my nephew had been, might cause death, and that the case was not even a very rare occurrence "I have in my portfolios," said this very skilful man, "a multitude of notices relative to the affections of children, and if you should read them, General, you would find not only that the germs of the

passions exist in their young hearts, but that in some children these passions are developed in an alarming manner. Jealousy, as well as poison, will kill children of three years of age, and even younger." "You think, then, that this little Junot died of grief from ceasing to see his father?" asked the First Consul.

"After what Madame Junot has just related, I cannot doubt it; and my conviction is confirmed by her having, without being aware of it, described all the symptoms of that malady of which only beings endowed with the most exquisite sensibility are susceptible. The child is happy in its early death, for he would have been to be pitied throughout his existence, and would have met with a perpetual succession of disappointments."

The First Consul rubbed his forehead frequently while Corvisart was speaking. It was evident that his repeated refusals to permit my brother-in-law's return to Europe were agitating his mind, and I am sure that, had the light been directed to his eyes, I should have seen them moist.

"Is Junot, your brother-in-law, still in Paris?" said he. "Yes, General." "Will you tell him that I wish to see him? Is Junot acquainted with the nature of his nephew's death?" "I believe not, General; for my brother-in-law has himself only learnt it since his wife's accouchement."

He again passed his hand over his forehead, and shook his head with the air of a person who would drive away a painful thought; but he never permitted it to be supposed that he was long under the influence of any predominating emotion; he walked again the length of the room, and then, placing himself directly in front of Corvisart, said to him with comic abruptness: "Corvisart, would it be better that there should be doctors, or that there should be none?" The modern Hippocrates replied to the malicious glance which

accompanied the question by one of equal meaning, then parried the attack with a jest, and added, "If you wish me to speak conscientiously, General, I believe that it would be as well if there were not any" We all laughed, when Corvisart continued, and added "But then there must be no *old women*"<sup>3</sup>

"I\* accompanied the Emperor (I think in 1807) on a visit to the Maison Royale at Charenton He inspected the establishment in its most minute details, made inquiries into all the remedies that had been tried, and all the cases which presented a probable chance of recovery He was much interested by this visit, and when he left Maison Royale he gave particular orders that 'the poor lunatics should be treated kindly'

"On his return from Charenton, the Emperor seemed thoughtful 'This visit,' said he to me, 'has made me melancholy Insanity is a frightful degradation of human nature I shall never go mad, that is certain My head is of iron (this is an expression which he often employed) Despair, indeed, is another thing! I have fixed ideas upon that subject Some time or other, Caulincourt, it is possible you may hear that I have deprived myself of life but never that I have lost my senses'

"He reminded me of these words," pursued the duke, "in the terrible night we spent at Fontainebleau in 1814 'This idea,' he said, 'occurred to me when I was at Charenton I then felt convinced that it would be better to die than to become an object of pity'"<sup>4</sup>

I did not eat at dinner, and the Emperor wished to know the cause I had a severe pain in my stomach, a complaint to

\* Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza

which I said I was very subject. "I am more fortunate than you," he observed. "I have not, during my life, felt any pain in my head or in my stomach." The Emperor often repeated what he had said, and he has pronounced these same words ten, twenty, or thirty times, in the midst of us at moments.<sup>5</sup>

ONE of us taking the liberty to say, "If your majesty had the dysentery to-morrow, would you still reject all kinds of medicine?" The Emperor answered, "At present that I am tolerably well, I answer yes, without hesitation; but if I got very ill, I should, perhaps, alter my mind, and should then feel that kind of conversation, which is produced on a dying man through the fear of the devil."

He again mentioned his incredulity in physic, but he did not think so, he said, of surgery. He had three times commenced a course of anatomical study. On a certain occasion and at the end of a long discussion, Corvisart, desirous of speaking to me with his proofs in hand, was so abominable and filthy as to bring a stomach, wrapped up in his pocket handkerchief to Saint Cloud, and I was instantly compelled, at that horrible sight, to cast up all I had in mine<sup>6</sup>

NAPOLEON, however, was sceptical; and inclined to think that if they had taken no medicine, maintained strict abstinence from everything except plenty of diluents, they would have done equally well. However, after having heard all my argument, he said, "Well, perhaps if ever I have a serious malady I may change my opinion, take all your medicines, and do what you please. I should like to know what sort of a patient I should make, and whether I should be tractable, or otherwise. I am inclined to think the former."<sup>7</sup>

AT dinner he told us he found himself much better and we then observed to him, that for some time past, however, he did not go out of the house, and was occupied eight, ten, or twelve hours of the day "That is the very reason of my being better," said he "Occupation is my element, I am born and made for it, I have found the limits beyond which I could use my eyes, but I have never known any bounds to my capability of application I nearly killed poor Meneval, I was obliged to relieve him for a time from the duties of his situation, and place him for the recovery of his health near the person of Maria Louisa, where his post was a mere sinecure ""

HE informed me that at one time he had tried to study anatomy, but that he had been disgusted with the sight and smell of the subjects

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He objected to taking a dose of physic which I advised, not on account of any dread which he had of it, or of its bad taste, but because he was of opinion, that the more medicine was administered, the more one stood in need of it "Take a dose of medicine once," said he, "and in all probability you will be obliged to take an additional hundred afterwards ""

THE Emperor has no faith in medicine, or its remedies, of which he makes no use "Doctor," said he, "our body is a machine for the purpose of life it is organized to that end—that is its nature Leave the life there at its ease, let it take care of itself, it will do better than if you paralyze it by loading it with medicines It is like a well made watch, destined to go for a certain time, the watch maker has not the power of opening it, he cannot meddle with it but at

random, and with his eyes bandaged. For one who, by dint of racking it with his ill-formed instruments, succeeds in doing it any good, how many blockheads destroy it altogether!"<sup>10</sup>

THE Emperor played a game at piquet with Madame de Montholon. The Grand Marshal having entered he left off playing and asked him how he thought he looked. Bertrand replied, "Only rather yellow," which was indeed the case. The Emperor rose good-humouredly, and pursued Bertrand into the saloon, in order to catch him by the ear, exclaiming, "Rather yellow, indeed! Do you intend to insult me, Grand Marshal? Do you mean to say that I am bilious, morose, atrabilarious, passionate, unjust, tyrannical! Let me catch hold of your ear, and I will take my revenge."<sup>1</sup>

THE Emperor said, he had brought Corvisart to admit that medicine was a resource available only for the few; that it might be of some benefit to the rich, but that it was the scourge of the poor. "Now, do you not believe," said the Emperor, "that seeing the uncertainty of the art itself, and the ignorance of those who practise it, its effects, taken in the aggregate, are more fatal than useful to the people?" Corvisart assented without hesitation. "But have you never killed anybody yourself?" continued the Emperor; "that is to say, have not some patients died, evidently in consequence of your prescriptions?"—"Undoubtedly," replied Corvisart; "but I ought no more to let that weigh upon my conscience, than would your Majesty, if you had caused the destruction of some troops, not from having made a bad movement, but because their march was impeded by a ditch or a precipice, which it was impossible for you to be aware of."

Thence the Emperor went on to some problems and defini-

tions, which he proposed to the Doctor "What is life?" said he to him, "when and how do we receive it? Is that still anything but mystery?" Then he defined harmless madness to be a vacancy or incoherence of judgment between just perceptions and the application of them an insane man eats grapes in a vineyard that is not his own, and, in reply to the expostulations of the owner, says — "Here are two of us, the sun shines upon us, then I have a right to eat grapes" The dangerous madman was he in whom this vacancy or incoherence of judgment occurred between perceptions and actions it was he who cut off the head of a sleeping man, and concealed himself behind a hedge, to enjoy the perplexity of the dead body when he should awake<sup>12</sup>

THE Emperor also said to the Doctor "If Hippocrates were on a sudden to enter your hospital, would he not be much astonished? would he adopt your maxims and your methods? would he not find fault with you? On your part, would you understand his language? would you at all comprehend each other?" He concluded by pleasantly extolling the practice of medicine in Babylon, where the patients were exposed at the door, and the relations, sitting near them, stopped the passengers to enquire if they had ever been afflicted in a similar way, and what had cured them "One had at least the certainty," said he, "of escaping all those whose remedies had killed them"

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"I was going to send for you early in the morning," said he, "but then I considered this poor devil of a doctor has been up all night at a ball, and has need of sleep If I disturb him, he will have his eyes so heavy, and his intellect so confused, that he will not be able to form any correct



opinion. Soon after I fell into a perspiration, and felt much relieved.”<sup>13</sup>

THE Doctor had had the honour of seeing the Emperor in the course of the day, and had made him laugh. “Hearing that I was not well,” said Napoleon, “he claimed me as his prey, by immediately advising me to take some medicine; medicine to me, who, to the best of my recollection, never took any in the whole course of my life.”<sup>14</sup>

NAPOLEON replied, “There is no necessity for it. If all the colleges of medicine in France and England were assembled, they would give the same advice that you have done, viz., to take exercise on horseback. I myself know as well as any physician what is necessary for me. It is exercise. Calling in Baxter to me would be like sending a physician to a man who was starving with hunger instead of giving him a loaf of bread. I have no objection to your making known to him my state of health if you like, and I am well aware that he will say *exercise*. As long as the present system is in force, I will never stir out.”<sup>15</sup>

HE laughed, and said, “I believe that there are a great many of Molière’s physicians. Of surgery, I have quite a different opinion; as there you do not work in the dark. There you at least have daylight, and your senses to guide and assist you.”<sup>16</sup>

NAPOLEON then began to rally me about my profession. “You medical people,” said he, “will have more lives to answer for in the other world than even we generals. What will you say for yourself,” said he laughing, “when you are called to account for all the souls of poor sailors you

have despatched to the other world? or what will your saint say for you, when the accusing angel proclaims, such a number you sent out of the world, by giving them heating medicines, when you ought to have given cooling ones, and vice versa, so many more, because you mistook their complaints, and bled them too much, others because you did not bleed them enough, numbers because they were *canaille*, and you did not pay them as much attention as you would have done to the captain or the admiral, and because you were over your bottle, or at the theatre, or with a fine girl, and did not like to be disturbed, or after *drink* (in English), when you went and distributed medicines, *a dritto ed a torto*, (right and wrong) How many because you were not present at the time a change in the complaint took place, when a medicine given at the moment might have saved them? How many others because the provisions were bad, and you would not complain through fear of offending the *fournisseurs*?"

\* \* \* I owe you\* the detail of the habits I have acquired, of the affections to which I am subject

The hours at which I obey the injunctions of nature are in general extremely irregular I sleep, I eat according to circumstances or the situation in which I am placed, my sleep is ordinarily sound and tranquil If pain or any accident interrupt it I jump out of bed, call for a light, walk, set to work, and fix my attention on some subject, sometimes I remain in the bed, change my apartment, lie down in another bed, or stretch myself on the sofa I rise at two, three, or four in the morning, I call for some one to keep me company, amuse myself with recollections or business and wait for the return of day I go out as soon

as dawn appears, take a stroll, and when the sun shows itself I re-enter and go to bed again, where I remain a longer or shorter time, according as the day promises to turn out. If it is bad, and I feel irritation and uneasiness, I have recourse to the method I have just mentioned. I change my posture, pass from my bed to the sofa, from the sofa to the bed, seek and find a degree of freshness. I do not describe to you my morning costume; it has nothing to do with the sufferings I endure, and besides I do not wish to deprive you of the pleasure of your surprise when you see it. These ingenious contrivances carry me on to nine or ten o'clock, sometimes later. I then order the breakfast to be brought, which I take from time to time in my bath, but most frequently in the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon keep me company, often both of them. Physicians have the right of regulating the table; it is proper that I should give you an account of mine. Well, then, a basin of soup, two plates of meat, one of vegetables, a salad when I can take it, compose the whole service; half a bottle of claret, which I dilute with a good deal of water, serves me for drink; I drink a little of it pure towards the end of the repast. Sometimes, when I feel fatigued, I substitute champagne for claret, it is a certain means of giving fillip to the stomach.<sup>18</sup>

NAPOLÉON observed that the physical faculties of men were strengthened by their dangers or wants. "Thus," said he, "the Bedouin of the desert has the piercing sight of the lynx; and the savage of the forest has the keen scent of wild animals."<sup>19</sup>

SAW Napoleon in his dressing-room. He was in very good humour—asked how Gourgaud was, and on being informed

that I\* had given him some medicine he laughed and said, "He would have done better to have *dieted* himself for some days, let him drink plenty of water, and eat nothing Medicines," he said, "were only fit for old people" <sup>20</sup>

\* Dr O Meara

NAPOLEON observed that the governor had insinuated that he (Napoleon) wanted to kill himself "Had I intended this," continued he, "I would have fallen upon my sword long ago, and died like a soldier But to purposely kill myself by the slow agonies of a lingering disease, I am not fool enough to attempt *Je n'ai jamais aime la longue guerre* (I never loved tedious warfare) But there is no death, however slow and painful, that I would not prefer to dishonouring my character' <sup>21</sup>

As for me, I may be considered as dead, as already in the sepulchre I am certain that before long, this body will be no more *Sento che la macchina lotta, ma che non puo durare* (I feel that the machine struggles, but cannot last")

"I," added he, "could listen to the intelligence of the death of my wife, of my son, or of all my family, without change of feature Not the slightest sign of emotion, or alteration of countenance, would be visible Everything would appear indifferent and calm But when alone in my chamber, then I suffer Then the feelings of the man burst forth" <sup>22</sup>

THE death of the Princess Charlotte\* recalled to his memory the danger experienced by the Empress Marie Louise at the birth of her son, and he related to us, with a sort of complacency, the details of that important event Had it not

\* Of England

been for me, said he, she would have lost her life, like this poor Princess Charlotte.

“What a misfortune! Young and beautiful, destined to the throne of a great nation, and to die for the want of proper care on the part of her nearest relations! Where was her husband? Where was her mother? Why were they not beside her, as I was beside Marie Louise? She, too, would have died, had I left her to the care of the professional people; she owes her life to my being with her during the whole time of danger; for I shall never forget the moment when the accoucheur Dubois came to me, pale with fright, and hardly able to articulate, and informed me that a choice must be made between the life of the mother and that of the child—the peril was imminent; there was not an instant to be lost in useless indecision. Save the mother, said I, it is her right; proceed just as you would in the case of a citizen’s wife of the Rue St. Denis. It is a remarkable fact, that this answer produced an electric effect on Dubois. He recovered his sang froid, and calmly explained to me the causes of the danger. The infant had presented itself in an unfavourable posture; the mother’s strength was exhausted; there was nothing more to be hoped for from nature, and it was necessary to have recourse to the resources of art and to use the forceps. A quarter of an hour afterwards the King of Rome was born; but at first he was believed to be dead, so much had he suffered in coming into the world; and it was with much difficulty that the physicians recalled him to life.”<sup>23</sup>

WHILE in this state of doubt, Napoleon, with whom I had been repeatedly during the day to report the state of the patient, sent for me at twelve o’clock at night. I mentioned that Cipriani was lying in a kind of stupor. “I think,” said

he, "that my appearance before poor Cipriani would act as a stimulus to slumbering nature, (*la natura che dorme*) and will rouse her to make new effort which may finally overcome the disease and save the patient " He endeavored to illustrate this by describing the electric effects which had been produced in many instances, by his appearance on the field of battle at most critical moments and times I replied, that Cipriani was still sensible, and that I knew the love and veneration he had for his master to be so great, that on his appearance before him, he would make an effort to rise in his bed, which exertion in the weak state in which he was, would probably produce syncope during which his soul, already *tra si e no*, to quit or to remain in its earthly tenement, would most probably take its departure After this and other explanations on the subject, Napoleon acquiesced in my opinion, that he should not try the experiment, observing, that in such cases, *les hommes de l'art* were the best judges

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Immediately after his death, I reported the circumstance to Napoleon, who remarked, "Where is his soul! Gone to Rome, perhaps, to see his wife and child, before it undertakes the long final journey "24

HAVING obtained admission, I\* communicated to him the order which I had received "*Le crime se consommera plus vite,*" said Napoleon, "I have lived too long for them *Votre ministere est bien hardi,*" added he, "when the Pope was in France, sooner would I have cut off my right arm than have signed an order for the removal of his surgeon "25

\* Dr Antommarchi

## XV.

### SCIENCE AND NATURAL HISTORY

True industry does not consist in executing by known and given means; the proof of art and genius is to accomplish an object under difficulties and to find little or no impossibility.

NAPOLEON.

INDEPENDENT of his knowledge of the principles governing military strategy and tactics and that of artillery practice and the construction of fortifications, Napoleon was not a man of scientific attainments, which is equivalent to stating he was not a specialist. To become distinguished in any of the branches of science usually requires life-long application, coupled with the requisite intellectual powers. Napoleon's genius, however, enabled him to acquire sufficient knowledge to exercise at least an intelligent interest in science and to engage in conversations with scientific men. Like every superior person, he relished coming in contact with men who could meet him on the plane of intellectual equality at least, as far as their profession had developed their own minds. In the applied arts and in manufactures, his ready grasp and insight surprised men who had devoted their lives to these industries.

#### NAPOLEON AT THE GARDENS

The lioness littered on the 18th Brumaire, and Felix named the first-born whelp Marengo. "Was not I a good godfather?" said he to Madame Bonaparte.

He made me touch one of the whelps; but the lioness, who had turned away and appeared to think no more of the matter, suddenly started up to her full height, and uttered a roar that shook the very walls.

Felix soothed her, and took the cub himself. He told us that the First Consul, on his visit to the lioness, had caressed her, and was very well received. "He inquired the hour of her delivery," said Felix, "the nature of her food, and especially of her beverage, and the General who was with him gave me a bright piece of gold, that the lioness might drink to the health of the Republic, a direction I have obeyed. Oh, he thinks of everything, the Citizen Consul!" While he spoke, I was meditating on the fortunes of this extraordinary man, which seemed to be mysteriously linked with all the wonders of his age.

The First Consul met us on horseback before we had quitted the gardens, and Felix no sooner perceived him than he hurried forward to report the bulletin of the lioness, assuring him that she had drunk to his health and that she was wonderfully well. Napoleon caressed her, and talked with Felix of all his beasts, with as much ease and as perfect a knowledge of their properties and habits as if this branch of science had been his particular study.

Felix, finding such encouragement entered upon one of his best stories, but just as he arrived (on his own showing) at the most astonishing point Napoleon patted him on the head with

"Felix, you lie, my boy, there are no crocodiles in the place you speak of, nor ever were, but it is all one—proceed with your story."

This was more easily said than done. Felix was so thoroughly disconcerted by the First Consul's apostrophe, that it was impossible to recover the thread of his adventure.

"Well, it will do for another day," said Napoleon good-humouredly, "only remember that crocodiles do not devour those who bathe in the Bosphorus, otherwise it would have



been much easier to kill Leander by that means than by drowning, as he had no boat, poor fellow!"<sup>1</sup>

IN a moment of dejection he had said, "I now renounce the political world forever. I shall henceforth feel no interest about anything that may happen. At Porto Ferrajo\* I may be happy—more happy than I have ever been! No!—if the crown of Europe were now offered to me I would not accept it. I will devote myself to science. I was right never to esteem mankind! But France and the French people—what ingratitude! I am disgusted with ambition, and I wish to rule no longer!"<sup>2</sup>

THE spring was close at hand. Napoleon gave orders to resume work on the roads of the island, and in San Martino, which had been interrupted by the winter. He set grass-plots in front of the barracks, and planted 600 mulberry trees along the road to San Martino and that to Fort Falcone, "which will in a few years facilitate the cultivation of the silkworm." He studied botany with a herbarium under his arm, and became an enthusiast over agricultural works. His bedside book was *La Maison Rustique*. Combining practice with theory, he roamed over the island with his escort, bestriding a mule and holding forth to the peasants on "cabbages, turnips, and onions." He taught how they ought to set about having good radishes and good salad. He was not above putting his own hand to the plough, and learning to trace a furrow. When he went into the cottages he praised up a vegetable unknown in the island of Elba—a tuber, which he called *parmentiere*, and which we know as the potato.<sup>3</sup>

ONE of the suite having a few days ago<sup>1</sup> proposed making some chemical experiments, the Emperor enquired whether

\* Elba.

he had obtained success. The other complained of not having the necessary apparatus. "A true child of the Seine," said Napoleon, "an absolute Parisian cockney! Do you think you are still at the Tuileries? True industry does not consist in executing by known and given means, the proof of art and genius is to accomplish an object in spite of the difficulties, and to find little or no impossibility. But what do you complain of? The want of a pestle, when the spar of any chair might answer any purpose? The want of a mortar? Any thing is a mortar that you choose to convert to that use, this table is a mortar, any pot or kettle is a mortar. Do you think you are still in the Rue Sainte-Honore, amidst all the shops in Paris?"

I broke the furrows, continues Antommarchi, the Emperor threw the seed and covered it over. One day, as he was arranging a bed of French beans, he perceived some small roots and began a dissertation upon the phenomena of vegetation. He analyzed them with his usual sagacity, and drew from them evidence of a Supreme Being, who presides over the wonders of nature.

"You do not believe all that," said he. "You physicians consider such belief a weakness. Tell me, you who have searched the human frame in all its windings, have you ever met with the soul under your scalpel? Where does the soul reside? In what organ? Why is it that physicians do not believe in God? *Mathematicians* are generally religious."

THE Emperor then discussed several points of political economy which are treated by Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*. He admitted that they were true in principle, but proved them to be false in application. Unfortunately, the scantiness of my notes here prevents me from entering into particulars.

"It is," said he, "because men will not acknowledge this great revolution in property, because they persist in closing their eyes on these truths, that so many acts of folly are now committed and that nations are exposed to so many disorders. The world has sustained a great shock, and it now seeks to return to a settled state. The whole cause of the universal agitation, that at present prevails, may be explained in a few words: the ship's cargo has been shifted, her ballast has been removed from the stem to the stern; hence are produced those violent oscillations which may occasion a wreck in the first storm, if obstinate efforts are made to work the vessel according to the usual method, and without obtaining a new balance."<sup>5</sup>

THE Emperor led his companion into his bed-room, and showed him some ants, whose habits he had been studying. These little insects had appeared in great numbers, and had climbed his table, on which there usually was some sugar. The ants had discovered this prize, and had established a regular chain of communication between the sugar-basin and their magazine of deposit. Napoleon, unwilling to disturb their plans, yet curious to study their development of sagacity, now and then moved the barrier, admiring the industry and activity displayed until the sugar was again found.

"This is not instinct," said he; "it is much more; it is sagacity, intelligence, the ideal of civil association. But these little beings have not our passions, our cupidity. They assist, but do not destroy each other. I have vainly endeavored to defeat their purpose. I have removed the sugar to every part of the room. They have been one, two, or sometimes three days looking for it. The idea strikes me to surround the basin with water, and see whether that will stop them. Doctor, send for some."

Water was placed around the basin. The buoyant little insects passed over it unharmed. "Let us try vinegar," said the Emperor. The ants no longer ventured even to approach it.<sup>6</sup>

## XVI.

### DRAMA AND ART

"A good tragedy gains on us every day. The higher walk of tragedy is the school of great men; it is the duty of sovereigns to encourage and disseminate a taste for it."

NAPOLEON.

NAPOLEON was a student of the drama and a patron of the theatre. He was always interested in great actors and appreciated their genius. Not only did he often witness their performances, but was an intelligent critic of their art. When he read the plays of the great dramatists, he commented on them and pointed out wherein he regarded their compositions admirable and wherein, in some instances, he considered their conceptions untrue to nature. He was in the habit of making marginal notes in many of his favorite books, particularly during his sojourn at Elba and later during the years of his exile.

He took a lively interest in the art of the painter and the sculptor, and especially in architecture, in some cases outlining his ideas regarding the style after which the plans should be drawn. He was a genius himself, and stimulated the genius of the talented men of his reign by affording them opportunities for employing their powers.

THE next day after their arrival at Saint-Cloud, the Emperor and Empress went to Paris to witness the fêtes of August 15. I need not say they were magnificent. Hardly had he entered the Tuileries, when the Emperor began going through the chateau to look at the repairs and embellishments that had been made during his absence. As usual, he criticised more than he praised all that he saw; looking out

of the window of the hall of marshals, he asked M de Fleuret, governor of the palace, why the upper part of the arch of triumph on the Carrousel was covered with a cloth. He was told that it was on account of the arrangements necessary for posing his statue in the car to which the Corinthian horses were harnessed, as well as for the completion of the two Victories who were to lead the four horses. "How!" quickly exclaimed the Emperor, "but I won't have that! I never spoke of that! I did not ask for it! Then, turning toward M Fontaine, he added "Monsieur Fontaine, was my statue in the design you presented to me?" "No, Sire, it was that of the god Mars"—"Well then, why have you put me in the place of the god Mars?" "Sire, it was not I. The director-general of museums—" "The director general was wrong," the Emperor interrupted impatiently, "I wish that statue to be taken out, do you hear, Monsieur Fontaine? I wish it to be taken out—it is the most unsuitable thing. What! is it for me to raise statues to myself? Let the car and the Victories be finished, but let the car—, let the car remain empty!" The order was obeyed, and the statue of the Emperor taken down and hidden in the orangery, is perhaps still there. It was of gilded lead, very fine and very like<sup>1</sup>

THE most perfect freedom of discussion prevailed in the council. The Emperor often urged those persons to speak whose opinions he desired to learn. One day the Emperor entered the council in a state of intense agitation. News had arrived of the surrender to the Spaniards of the French army under General Dupont. It was the first time that the eagles of France had been humiliated. Napoleon's voice trembled with emotion as he recounted the disaster. He was extremely displeased with General Dupont. As he dwelt

upon the resources which the general, even under the most desperate circumstances, might have called to his aid, he exclaimed,

"Yes! the elder Horace, in Corneille's play, is right, when, being asked what his flying son could have done, he says, '*He might have died; or he might have called in a noble despair to his rescue.*' Little," continued Napoleon, "do they know of human nature who find fault with Corneille, and pretend that he has weakened the effect of the first exclamation by that which follows."<sup>2</sup>

THE approbation of the Emperor was the highest reward which genius could receive. Desirous of giving an impulse to the arts of design, he visited with Josephine and a brilliant assemblage of his court, the studio of the painter David. This distinguished artist had just completed the picture of the Coronation. He had selected the moment when the Emperor was placing the crown upon the brow of the Empress. The painting had been criticised as rather representing the coronation of Josephine than that of Napoleon. The Emperor contemplated for a few moments in silence the impressive scene which the pencil of the artist had so vividly delineated; then turning to the painter, he said,

"Monsieur David, this is well—very well indeed. The Empress, my mother, the Emperor, all are most appropriately placed. You have made me a French knight. I am gratified that you have thus transmitted to future ages the proofs of affection I was desirous of testifying toward the Empress." Then advancing two steps, and turning toward the painter, he uncovered his head, and bowing profoundly, said "Monsieur David, I salute you."

"Sire," replied the painter, with admirable tact, "I receive the compliment of the Emperor in the name of all the art-

ists in the empire I am happy in being the individual one you deign to make the channel of such an honor"<sup>3</sup>

FOR several weeks, the Emperor occupied himself almost exclusively with buildings and embellishments. The arch of triumph on the Place du Carrousel, from which the scaffoldings had been removed so that the imperial guard could pass beneath it on its return from Prussia, was the first thing to attract His Majesty's attention. This monument was nearly finished at the time, lacking only bas-reliefs which had yet to be put in place. The Emperor looked at it a long time from one of the windows of the palace, and said, after frowning two or three times, that *that mass he saw yonder was much more like a pavilion than a gateway, and that he would greatly have preferred a construction in the style of the portal of Saint Denis* <sup>4</sup>

THEIR Majesties' visit was a long one. The setting sun at last warned the Emperor that it was time to depart. He was conducted by David as far as the door of the studio. There, stopping short, the Emperor lifted his hat, and by a salute full of grace, signified the respect he paid to so distinguished a talent. The Empress increased the lively emotion by which M. David seemed to be affected, by a few of those charming words she knew so well how to say and to place so appropriately.

#### MEETING OF NAPOLEON WITH GOETHE AND WIELAND

On the 24th of September the Grand Duke Constantin arrived, on the following day, the Czar Alexander. On the 27th they journeyed on to Erfurt, whither the Duke had also gone. Beside the two emperors, there were assembled four kings, thirty-four princes, and a large number of courtiers,



generals, and ministers. The little city was suddenly filled with busiest life, which received an added artistic charm through the performances given by the actors of the Theatre Français, with the famous Talma at their head. Behind the curtain of the noisy festivities the two emperors were deciding the fate of Europe.

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On the 1st of October Napoleon learned through Minister Maret of Goethe's presence, and, in spite of the fact that he himself was overcrowded with business and other appointments, commanded the poet to appear at an audience with him at eleven o'clock the following morning. Thus were to be brought face to face the two greatest men of Europe, both world-conquerors, both men of supreme power. The one born with a divine sense of proportion, which he was constantly strengthening by earnest self-discipline, had transformed this superhuman power into grateful, reposeful beauty and wisdom; the other had given it free course to manifest itself, now as a volcanic eruption, destroying everything in its course, now as a violent agent of stupendous construction.

When Goethe entered, the French Emperor gazed at him long and attentively, then exclaimed with admiration: "*Voilà (or vous êtes) un homme!*" Goethe was no stranger to him; he had formed an excellent idea of him from *Werther*, which he had read several times. The poet's personal appearance, however, seemed to surpass his expectations. He did not enter at once into a discussion of *Werther*; he inquired first about Goethe's dramas. In this connection Daru who was present, mentioned the fact that Goethe had translated Voltaire's *Mahomet*. "That is not a good play," replied the Emperor, and then gave a very detailed exposition of how improper it is that the great world-conqueror should

be made to give such an unfavourable description of himself. After that he turned the conversation to *Werther*, and Goethe now learned for the first time that Napoleon was one of his readers. He made various ingenious remarks: among others, that Goethe had weakened the impression of *Werther's* over-powering love by mingling the suicide motive with that of offended ambition. In addition he pointed out a certain passage (never definitely indicated by Goethe, and hence difficult to discover), and said: "Why did you do that? It is not natural"; and gave extended reasons for this criticism, which was "perfectly just."

"I listened to him," says Goethe, in his brief incomplete sketch of the interview, "with serene face, and answered, with a pleased smile, that I did not know, to be sure, whether any one else had made this same criticism; but I considered it entirely just, and confessed that there was something untrue to be found in this passage. But, I added, perhaps the author is to be pardoned if he employs a not easily detected artifice in order to produce certain effects, which he could not have achieved in a simple, natural way. The Emperor seemed to be satisfied with his explanation, came back to the drama, and made some very significant remarks, such as one would make who had studied the tragic stage, as a judge studies a criminal, with the closest attention, and had felt very keenly the departure of the French theatre from nature and truth. Then he spoke also of fatalistic dramas with disapproval, saying that they belonged to a darker age. 'What will they do with fate now?' he said—'politics is fate.' "

Here he interrupted the conversation for a time, in order to speak with Daru and Soult about political matters. Turning again to Goethe, he asked him about his personal circumstances, about the members of the House of Weimar,

and other things. "I answered him in a natural way. He seemed satisfied, but translated it into his own idiom, a somewhat more decided style than I had at my command." The Emperor was in the best of humour, praised Goethe repeatedly, and by his witticisms forced the poet to laugh aloud, so that he felt obliged to apologize. After the audience had lasted about an hour Goethe was dismissed.

Soon there was to be an opportunity for another interview. Napoleon invited himself to visit the Duke of Weimar on the 6th of October, and to celebrate his presence sent thither his actors, who now played Voltaire's *La Mort de Cæsar* on Goethe's stage—a constellation such as the poet had never dreamed of. At Cæsar's words:

Je sais combattre, vaincre et ne sais point punir.  
Allons, n'écoutons point ni soupçons ni vengeance,  
Sur l'univers soumis regnons sans violence—\*

a deep stir went through the house. Some saw therein the picture of Napoleon, others wished they might see it.

After the theatre there was a ball. Napoleon soon drew the poet to his side, and speaking of the performance said that the serious drama should be the school of princes and peoples, for in a certain sense it stands higher than history. "You ought to write a *Death of Cæsar*, but in a grander style than Voltaire. The world should be shown how Cæsar would have made it happy, if he had been given time to realise his high-minded plans. You come to Paris. I demand it of you, by all means. There you will have a broader view of the world. You will find an over-abundance of material for your poems."

\* Full well can I wage war, can conquer, but not punish.  
To vengeance and mistrust let us a deaf ear lend,  
And o'er the conquered world our gentle rule extend.

The Emperor also paid some attention to Wieland. He conversed with him for some time in a clever and often pertinent way about political subjects, about the historical works of Tacitus, which he considered highly coloured, written for a narrow point of view, and psychologically lacking, about the propagation of Christianity by the Greeks and about Christianity itself, which he considered the best of all philosophies, because it assures in equal measure the happiness of states and of individuals.

A few days later each of the poets received the Cross of the Legion of Honour. The Emperor was also very gracious toward the country. He relieved the Weimar contingent from the campaign in Spain, and gave the city of Jena three hundred thousand francs indemnity to cover the losses suffered in the battle. Just how much this action on the part of Napoleon was due to his consideration for Czar Alexander, how much to his calculation that the impression he made upon the leading writers of the nation would necessarily be communicated to the nation itself, and, finally, how much he was influenced by true admiration and sympathy, for the Duchess as well as others, is difficult to decide. It is probable that all these motives entered into his determination.

At any rate, Weimar was filled with joy. Such a complete change after two years, such splendour after such misery, surpassed all expectations. And what an outlook for the future, with Napoleon the friend of the country and the friend of the Muses! Weimar seemed to rise Phoenix-like from its ashes. "Napoleon is our saint," wrote Minister von Voigt shortly after the gala days.

Goethe shared in the general rejoicing in his own way. He had had a very exalted conception of Napoleon's genius before, but he had not expected that this genius would

ever unfold itself so amiably and richly before him. This enhanced extraordinarily his favourable idea of the great personality. The world-conqueror, before whom the princes of Europe bowed, spoke with him and with Wieland as with his peers. "I have never seen a calmer, simpler, gentler, more unassuming man," declared Wieland. Napoleon did not speak as a general and a statesman, but as a literary critic, and historian, a philosopher. And with what sagacity, what discrimination, what originality! He had been obliged to grasp and comprehend everything at a glance. What a mind! "The greatest understanding the world has ever seen" (Goethe to Boisseree, August 8, 1815). And this tremendous personality now stepped up to Goethe and showed him the highest honour. "*Voilà un homme!*" Napoleon had said to him. Goethe could not ask anything more than the recognition contained in these words, coming from such a mouth. He declared too that Napoleon had put the dot above the *i* (of his life). To Cotta he wrote: "I will gladly confess that nothing higher and more pleasing could have happened to me in all my life than to have stood before the French Emperor on such a footing. Without entering into the details of our conversation, I may say that I have never before been so received by one of higher rank; he accepted me for what I was, and with especial confidence, and he gave me to understand in no uncertain terms that my nature was congenial to him." Goethe felt very certain that if he should ever again meet the Emperor he would find in him a friendly and gracious lord. This he considered a thing to be desired, and not merely for his own sake.

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In general, Napoleon, his marshals, and his ambassadors everywhere gave evidence of a high appreciation of German literature and science. Napoleon had ever spoken dispar-

agingly of French literature in comparison with the German, and had urge Goethe to come to Paris as a reformer, in a certain sense, of literary taste. Is it improbable that Goethe should have thought that the relation which had once existed in the Prussia of Frederick the Great might now be reversed, and that Napoleon might surround himself with a circle of German poets and scholars, as Frederick had surrounded himself with Frenchmen? Had not German literature risen to such a height that such a reversal was within the range of possibility? And had not Napoleon perhaps been selected by Providence as an instrument to spread the German literature over the civilized world, as he had the wholesome ideas of the revolution?<sup>s</sup>

At one of the evening levees at Saint Cloud the Emperor analyzed a piece which had just been brought out—it was Hector, by Luce de Lancival. This piece pleased him very much, it possessed warmth and energy of character. He called it a 'head-quarter' piece, and said that a soldier would be better prepared to meet the enemy after seeing or reading it and it would be well if there were a greater number of plays written in the same spirit. Then adverting to those dramatic productions which he termed *waiting maids' tragedies*, he said they would not bear more than one representation, after which they suffered a gradual diminution of interest. "A good tragedy, on the contrary, gains upon us every day. The higher walk of tragedy is the school of great men, it is the duty of sovereigns to encourage and disseminate a taste for it. Nor is it necessary to be a poet, to be enabled to judge of the merits of tragedy, it is sufficient to be acquainted with men and things, to possess an elevated mind, and to be a statesman." Then, becoming gradually more animated, he added with enthusiasm,—

"Tragedy fires the soul, elevates the heart, and is calculated to generate heroes. Considered under this point of view, perhaps, France owes to Corneille a part of her great actions; and, gentleman, had he lived in my time, I would have made him a prince."<sup>6</sup>

TO M. DE REMUSAT, PREFECT OF THE POLICE

Paris, 13th February, 1810.

As to the opera, "The Death of Abel," is ready mounted, I consent to its being played; but in future I intend no opera shall be given without my order. If the last management has left the new one my written permission, it will be in order, not otherwise. The former management deferred to me, not only as to receiving works, but as to selecting them. Generally speaking, I disapprove of the production of any work founded on Holy Scripture. These subjects should be left to the Church. The Chamberlain who has charge of the theatrical business will immediately make this known to the authors, so that they may devote themselves to other subjects. The Ballet of "Autumnus and Pomona" is a cold and tasteless allegory. That of the "Rape of the Sabines" is historic and more suitable. Only mythological and historical ballets are to be given—never anything allegorical. I desire four ballets may be produced this year. If Gardel is not in a position to do it, you are to find other persons who will. Beside "The Death of Abel," I should desire another historical ballet, more apposite to present circumstances than the "Rape of the Sabines."

TO GENERAL SAVARY, DUC DE ROVIGO, MINISTER OF POLICE

Paris, 30th March 1813

"I have your letter I confess I could not help being very much astonished by the play yesterday (*L'Intrigante*) I do not refer to the platitudes, and silly remarks which the author so constantly pours forth—all that was addressed to the pit But I had a right to expect that the Minister of Police would not have allowed the Court to be handled in so dull and silly a fashion The author is said to be a well-disposed person In that case, he is a proof of the adage, that it is better to have spiteful enemies, than foolish friends Never have people been allowed, in any country, so to depreciate the Court If it had not been for its clumsiness, and lack of talent, the play would have had a most mischievous effect on public opinion What surprises me most of all, is that it should be a man who is earning 80,000 francs a year, in your offices, who takes it into his head to court popularity in this fashion Put a stop to the performances of this wretched comedy, and alter the composition of your Board of Censors No one but simpletons, or ill disposed persons, would have approved such a play"

TALMA, the celebrated tragedian, had frequent interviews with the Emperor, who greatly admired his talent, and rewarded him magnificently When the First Consul became Emperor, it was reported all over Paris, that he had Talma to give him lessons in attitude and costume The Emperor, who always knew every thing that was said against him, rallied Talma one day on the subject, and finding him look quite disconcerted and confounded,—“You are wrong,” said he, “I certainly could not have employed myself better, if



I had had leisure for it." On the contrary, it was the emperor who gave Talma lessons in his art:

"Racine," said he to him, "has loaded his character of Orestes with imbecilities, and you only add to their extravagance. In the *Mort de Pompee*, you do not play Cæsar like a hero; in *Britannicus*, you do not play Nero like a tyrant." Every one knows the corrections which Talma afterwards made in his performances of these celebrated characters.<sup>9</sup>

"I did not know Talma personally," continued he, "until I was first consul. I then favoured and distinguished him very much, as a man of talent and the first in the profession. I sometimes sent for him in the morning, to discourse with me while I was at breakfast. The libellers said that Talma taught me how to act the king. When I returned from Elba, I said one morning at my breakfast to Talma, who was present with some other men of science, "*Eh bien, Talma, so they say that you taught me how to sit upon my throne. C'est un signe que je m'y tiens bien.*"<sup>10</sup>

AFTER dinner the Emperor read first *La Mère Coupable*, in which we felt interested and next, the *Melanie of La Harpe*, which he thought wretchedly conceived and very badly executed. "It was," he said, "a turgid declamation, in perfect conformity with the taste of the times, founded in fashionable calumnies and absurd falsehoods. When La Harpe wrote that piece, a father certainly had not the power of forcing his daughter to take the veil; the laws would never have allowed it. This play, which was performed at the beginning of the revolution, was solely indebted for its success to the momentary caprice of public opinion. Now that the inducement is over, it would be a wretched performance! La Harpe's characters are all unnatural. He should

not have attacked defective institutions with defective weapons ”

The Emperor said that La Harpe so completely failed in his object with regard to his own impressions, that all his feelings were in favor of the father, while he was shocked at the daughter's conduct. He had never seen the performance, without being tempted to start from his seat and call out to the daughter, “You have but to say, No, and we will all take your part, you will find a protector in every citizen ”<sup>11</sup>

THE Emperor observed, that if caricatures sometimes avenge misfortune, they form a continual annoyance to power. “I think I have had my share of them,” said he. He then desired us to describe some of those which had been made upon him, and very much approved of one as being in good taste. It was a sketch representing George III on the coast of England, throwing an enormous beet-root, in a great passion, at the head of Napoleon, who was on the opposite shore, and saying, “*Go and make yourself some sugar* ”<sup>12</sup>

THE conversation turned upon the Fine Arts. One of the speakers made little account of music, and did not conceal his opinions. “You are wrong,” said the Emperor, “it is of all the liberal arts the one that has the most influence on the passions, and that which the legislator is bound to encourage most. A well composed piece of music touches the heart, melts the soul, and produces more effect than a treatise of morality, which convinces the reason, leaves us cold and unmoved, and makes no alteration in the slightest of our habits ”<sup>13</sup>

## XVII.

### HUMAN NATURE, MORALITY, ETC.

"One must learn to forgive and not to hold a hostile, bitter attitude of mind, which offends those about us and prevents us from enjoying ourselves; one must recognize human shortcomings and adjust himself to them rather than to be constantly finding fault with them."

NAPOLEON.

IN his reading, Napoleon preferred books dealing with men. He was a student of human nature, and yet no one has more emphatically declared its mystery. In his position as a great administrator, it was essential for him to become a judge of men, both with respect to their character and their ability. In spite of his insight and shrewdness, he was sometimes seriously at fault. If he felt warranted in so doing, he placed implicit confidence in the men whose duties brought them into personal contact with him. If he found he was mistaken in their integrity, they were never able to regain his confidence. Through force of habit, he sometimes retained persons in either public or private capacities, even though he was not wholly satisfied with them.

IN about a quarter of an hour after this rebuke he stepped up to me,\* and pinching my nose till he made me cry out, he said:

"My dear, you are a clever girl; but you are very satirical. Correct this disposition. Remember that a woman ceases to charm whenever she makes herself feared." The result of all this was that I heard no more about the marquise. My mother, who had certainly been more malicious in the affair than I had, inquired the particulars of the

\* Young wife of Junot.

whole scene, and when I described it she laughed heartily, and said, "I was sure that would do!"

IN viewing the complicated circumstances of his fall, he looks upon things so much in a mass, and from so high a point, that individuals escape his notice. He never evinces the least symptom of virulence towards those of whom it might be supposed he has the greatest reason to complain. His greatest mark of reprobation, and I have had frequent occasion to notice it, is to preserve silence with respect to them, whenever they are mentioned in his presence. But how often has he not been heard to restrain the violent and less reserved expressions of those about him? "You are not acquainted with men," he has said to us, "they are difficult to comprehend, if one wishes to be strictly just. Can they understand or explain even their own characters? Almost all those who abandoned me, would, had I continued to be prosperous, never perhaps, have dreamed of their own defection. There are vices and virtues which depend on circumstances. Our last trials were beyond all human strength! Besides I was forsaken rather than betrayed, there was more of weakness than of perfidy around me. It was the *denial of St Peter*, tears and repentance are probably at hand. And where will you find, in the page of history, any one possessing a greater number of friends and partisans? Who was ever more popular and more beloved? Who was ever more ardently and deeply regretted? Here from this very rock, on viewing the present disorders in France, who would not be tempted to say that I still reign there? The Kings and Princes, my allies, have remained faithful to me to the last, they were carried away by the people in a mass, and those who were around me, found themselves overwhelmed and stunned by an irresis-

tible whirlwind . . . No! human nature might have appeared in a more odious light, and I might have had greater cause of complaint!"<sup>2</sup>

ANOTHER of these evenings, the Emperor was holding forth against the caprice of women; "Nothing," said he, "more clearly indicates rank, education, and good breeding among them, than evenness of temper and the constant desire to please." He added, that they were bound by circumstances to shew themselves at all times mistresses of themselves, and to be always attending to their part on the stage. His two wives, he observed, had always been so: they certainly differed greatly in their qualities and dispositions; but they always agreed in this point. Never had he witnessed ill-humour in either the one or the other; to please him had been the constant object with both of them.

Some one ventured to observe, however, that Maria-Louisa had boasted, that whenever she desired anything, no matter how difficult, she had only to weep. The Emperor laughed at it, and said, that was new to him. He might have suspected it of Josephine, but he had no idea of it in Maria-Louisa. And then, addressing himself to Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon: "Thus it is with you all, ladies," said he: "in some points you all agree."<sup>3</sup>

"ANOTHER peculiar shade in the character of Josephine," said the Emperor, "was her constant habit of negation. At all times, and whatever question I put to her, her first movement was negative, her first answer NO; and this *no*," continued the Emperor, "was not precisely a falsehood, but merely a precaution, or a defence."—"This," observed Madame Bertrand, "is a characteristic distinction between our sex and yours."—"But, after all, Madame," resumed the

Emperor, "this distinction arises only from the difference of education. You love, and you are taught to say NO, we, on the contrary, take a pride in declaring that we love, whether we really do or not. This is the whole course of the opposite conduct of the two sexes. We are not, and never can be, similar."<sup>4</sup>

'MADAME,\* however, carried her parsimony to a most ridiculous extreme. I offered to furnish her with a very considerable monthly income, on condition that she would spend it. She on the other hand was very willing to receive the money, provided she were permitted to hoard it up. This arose not so much from covetousness as excess of foresight, all her fear was that she might one day be reduced to beggary. She had known the horrors of want, and they now constantly haunted her imagination. It is, however, but just to acknowledge that she gave a great deal to her children in secret. She is indeed a kind mother.'

"Nevertheless," continued the Emperor, "this woman who was so reluctant to part with a single crown, would willingly have given me her all, on my return from the Island of Elba, and after the battle of Waterloo she would have surrendered to me all she possessed in the world, to assist me in re-establishing my affairs. Thus she offered to do, and would, without a murmur, have doomed herself to live on brown bread. Loftiness of sentiment still reigned paramount in her heart, pride and noble ambition were not yet subdued by avarice.'<sup>5</sup>

AFTER dinner the Emperor attempted to read a part of the *Caravanserail de Sarrazin*. After glancing over a few of the tales, and reading a page from one of them, he said—"The

\* The mother of Napoleon

moral of this story doubtless is, that *men never change*. This is not true; they change both to better and worse. A thousand other maxims which authors attempt to establish are all equally false. They affirm that *men are ungrateful*; but no, they are not so ungrateful as is supposed; and if ingratitude be frequently a subject of complaint, it is because the benefactor requires more than he gives.

"It is also said, that *when you know a man's character, you have a key to his whole conduct*. But that is a mistaken notion. A man may commit a bad action though he be fundamentally good; he may be led into an act of wickedness, without being himself wicked. This is because man is usually actuated not by the natural bent of his character, but by a secret momentary passion, which has lain dormant and concealed in the inmost recesses of his heart. Another error is to suppose that the *face is the mirror of the mind*. The truth is, that it is very difficult to know a man's character. To avoid being deceived on this point, it is necessary to judge a person by his actions only; and it must be by his actions of the moment, and merely for that moment."<sup>6</sup>

"IN truth men have their virtues and their vices; their heroism and their perversity; men are neither generally good nor generally bad; but they possess and practice all that is good and bad in this world. This is the principle: natural disposition, education and accidental circumstances are the applications. I have always been guided by this opinion, and I have generally found it correct. However, I was deceived in 1814, when I believed that France, at the sight of her dangers, would make common cause with me; but I was not not deceived in 1815, on my return from Waterloo."<sup>7</sup>

THE turn of the conversation led him to express his surprise

at the contrast between the character of the mind, and the expression of the countenance which was observable in some individuals "This proves," said he, "that we must not judge of a man by his face, we can know him only by his conduct. What countenances have I had to judge of in the course of my life! What odd examples of physiognomy have come under my observation! And what rash opinions have I heard on this subject! Thus I invariably made it a rule never to be influenced either by features or by words. Still however, it must be confessed, that we sometimes find curious resemblances between the countenance and the character. For instance, on looking at the face of our *Monsieur* (meaning the Governor), who would not recognize the features of a *tiger-cat*! I will mention another instance. There was a man in my service, who was employed about my person. I liked him very much, but I was obliged to dismiss him, because I several times caught him with his hands in my pockets. He committed his thefts too impudently, let any one look at this man, and they must admit that he has a *magpie's eye*."

While we were conversing on the subject of physiognomy, some one remarked, that Mirabeau speaking of Pastoret's face said "it is a compound of the *tiger* and the *calf*, but the calf predominates." At this the Emperor laughed heartily, and said it was strictly true.\*

It may be observed as a general principle, that however violent the Emperor's actions might appear, they were always the result of calculation. "When one of my ministers," said he, "or some other great personage had been guilty of a fault of so grave a nature that it became absolutely necessary for me to be very angry, I always took care in that case to have a third person present to witness the scene that



was to ensue; for it was a general maxim with me, that when I resolved to strike a blow, it must be felt by many at the same time; the immediate object of my resentment did not feel more incensed against me on that account, and the bystander, whose embarrassed appearance was highly ludicrous, did not fail to run and circulate, most discreetly, as far as he could, all that he had seen and heard. A salutary terror ran thus from vein to vein through the body social; a new impulse was given to the march of affairs; I had less to punish, and a great deal of public good was obtained without inflicting much private hardship.”<sup>9</sup>

ALL these quackeries, and as many others, such as those of Cagliostro, Mesmer, Gall, and Lavater, are destroyed by this sole and simple argument; “*All that may exist, but it does not exist.*”

Man is fond of the marvellous, it has for him irresistible fascinations; he is ever ready to abandon that, which is near at hand, to run after that which is fabricated for him. He voluntarily lends himself to his own delusions. The truth is, that everything around us is a wonder. There is nothing which can be properly called a phenomenon. Everything in nature is a phenomenon. My existence is a phenomenon. The wood that is put in the fire-place and warms us, is a phenomenon; that candle there, which gives me light is a phenomenon. All the first causes, my understanding, my faculties, are phenomena; for they all exist and we cannot define them. I take leave of you here, said he, and lo: I am at Paris, entering my box at the opera. I bow to the audience; I hear the acclamations; I see the performers; I listen to the music. But if I can bound over the distance from St. Helena why should I not bound over the distance of centuries? Why should I not see the future as well as

the past? Why should the one be more extraordinary, more wonderful than the other? The only reason is, that it does not exist. This is the argument which will always annihilate, without the possibility of reply, all visionary wonders. All these quacks deal in very ingenious speculations, their reasoning may be just and seductive, but their conclusions are false because they are unsupported by facts.

Mesmer and Mesmerism have never recovered from the blow dealt at them by Bailey's report in the name of the academy of sciences. Mesmer produced effects upon a person by magnetising him to his face, yet the same person, magnetised behind without his knowing it, experienced no effect whatever. It was therefore, on his part, an error of imagination, a debility of the senses, it was the act of the *somnabule*, who, at night runs along the roof without danger, because he is not afraid, but who would break his neck in the day because his senses would confound him.

I once attacked the quack Puysegur, on his *somnambulism*, at one of my public audiences. He wished to assume a very lofty tone, I brought him down to his proper level with only these words. If your doctrine is so instructive, let it tell us something new! Mankind will, no doubt, make a very considerable progress in the next 200 years, let it specify any single improvement, which is to take place within that period! Let it tell me what I shall do within the following week! Let it ascertain the numbers of the lottery, which will be drawn to-morrow! etc.

I behaved in the same manner to Gall and contributed very much to the discredit of his theory. Corvisart was his principal follower. He, and all who resemble him, had a great attachment to materialism, which was calculated to strengthen their theory and influence. But nature is not

so barren. Were she so clumsy as to make herself known by external forms, we should go to work promptly and acquire a greater degree of knowledge. Her secrets are more subtle, more delicate, more evanescent, and have hitherto escaped the most minute researches. We find a great genius in a little hunch-back, and a man, with fine commanding person, turns out to be a stupid fellow. A big head with a large brain is sometimes destitute of a single idea, while a small brain is found to possess a vast understanding. And observe the imbecility of Gall. He attributes to certain protuberances, propensities and crimes, which are not inherent in nature, which arise solely from society and the compact of mankind. What becomes of the protuberance, denoting thievery, where there is no property to steal;—of that indicating drunkenness, where there are no fermented liquors, and of that characterising ambition, where there is no social establishment?

The same remarks apply to that egregious charlatan, Lavater, with his physical and moral relations. Our credulity lies in the defect of our nature. It is inherent in us to wish for the acquisition of positive ideas, when we ought, on the contrary, to be carefully on our guard against them. We scarcely look at a man's features, before we undertake to ascertain his character. We should be wise enough to repel the idea and to neutralize those deceitful appearances. I was robbed by a person who had grey eyes, and from that moment am I never to look at grey eyes without the idea of the fear of being robbed? It was a weapon, that wounded me, and of that I am apprehensive wherever I see it, but was it the grey eyes that robbed me? Reason and experience, and I have been enabled to derive great benefit from both, prove, that all those external signs are so many lies; that we cannot be too strictly on our guard against

them, and that the only true way of appreciating and gaining a thorough knowledge of mankind is by trying and associating with them. After all, we meet with countenances so hideous, it must be allowed, (and as an instance he described one, it was that of the governor,) that the most powerful understanding is confounded, and condemns them in spite of itself <sup>10</sup>

As we were walking about, Madame de Montholon drove away a dog that had come near her—"You do not like dogs, Madam?" said the Emperor—"No, Sire"—"If you do not like dogs, you do not like fidelity, you do not like those who are attached to you, and, therefore, you are not faithful"—"But . . . but . . ." said she—"But . . . but . . ." repeated the Emperor, "where is the error in my logic? Refute my arguments if you can!"<sup>11</sup>

THIS morning the Emperor, conversing in his room, after touching on several subjects spoke about sentiment, feelings, and sensibility, and having alluded to one of us who, as he observed, never pronounced the name of his mother but with tears in his eyes, he said, "But is this not peculiar to him? Is this a general feeling? Do you experience the same thing, or am I unnatural in that respect? I certainly love my mother with all my heart, there is nothing that I would not do for her, yet if I were to hear of her death, I do not think that my grief would manifest itself by even a single tear, but I would not affirm that this would be the case if I were to lose a friend, or my wife, or my son. Is this distinction founded on nature? What can be the cause of it? Is it that my reason has prepared me beforehand to expect the death of my mother as being in the natural course of events, whereas the loss of my wife, or my son,

is an unexpected occurrence, a hardship inflicted by fate which I endeavor to struggle against? Perhaps also this distinction merely proceeds from our natural disposition to egotism. I belong to my mother but my wife and son belong to me."<sup>12</sup>

He then questioned me respecting the kind of gaming to which I had just alluded; and observing that in my replies, I always used the plural we, he interrupted me, saying,—“Were you yourself one of the party? Were you a gamester?”—“Alas, Sire, I unfortunately was. Only by fits and long intervals, it is true. But still, when the fit seized me, it urged me to excess.”—“I am very glad I knew nothing of it at the time,” said the Emperor, “otherwise you would have been ruined in my esteem. The circumstance shows how little we knew of each other, and it also proves that you could not have made yourself many enemies; for there were charitable souls about me who would have taken care to inform me of your failing. My prejudice against gaming was well known. A gamester was sure to forfeit my confidence. I had not leisure to inquire whether I was right or wrong; but, whenever I heard that a man was addicted to gaming, I placed no more reliance on him.”<sup>13</sup>

ONE day mention was made of an individual who, though distinguished for his ideas and his acts, nevertheless betrayed gross faults in his manners and mode of expressing himself. The Emperor explained this discordance by saying: “You see the fault is in his first education; his swaddling clothes have been neither fine nor clean.”<sup>14</sup>

“It has always been my maxim, that a man shews more real courage in supporting and resisting the calamities and

misfortunes which befall him, than by making away with himself *That* is the action of a losing gamester, or a ruined spendthrift, and is a want of courage, instead of a proof of it "<sup>15</sup>

ONE day when the Emperor was reproaching an individual for not correcting the vices which he knew he possessed, "Sir," said he, "When a man knows his moral infirmity, he may cure his mind, just as he will cure his arm or his leg "<sup>16</sup>

"You should endeavor to form but one family," said he "You have followed me only with the view of assuaging my sorrow Ought not this feeling to subdue every other consideration? If sympathy alone is not sufficiently powerful, let reason be your guide You should learn to calculate your sorrows, your sacrifices and your enjoyments, in order to arrive at a result, just as we make additions or subtractions in every kind of calculation All the circumstances of our lives should be submitted to this rule We must learn to conquer ill temper It is natural enough that little misunderstandings should arise among you, but they should be followed by explanation, and not succeeded by ill-humour, the former will produce a result the latter will only render the affair more complicated Reason and logical inference, should in this world be our constant guides "<sup>16</sup>

## XVIII.

### EMOTIONS AND PASSIONS

"You add that you are not jealous. I found out long ago that angry persons always assert that they are not angry; that those who are afraid keep on repeating that they have no fear, you, therefore are convinced of jealousy. I am delighted to hear it! Nevertheless you are wrong."

NAPOLEON. (Letter to Josephine.)

WHILE himself a young man, Napoleon wrote his younger brother, Lucian, that the main thing to cultivate was self-restraint. This he doubtless intended Lucian to understand was to apply to everything in the conduct of life. It was his own watchword, and he sought to practice what he preached. During the formative period of his existence he had ample opportunity to study self-control, and to apply his own maxim in his daily experience. Taking into consideration his almost unlimited power, and the temptation and provocations to which he was constantly exposed, and subjected, and always remembering that after all he was human, his career was commendably considerate, temperate, and just. The almost super-human energy of his nature was bound to require a correspondingly degree of self-control, and beside this he was under the highest tension which the human mind is capable of sustaining much of the time, for a period of over twenty years.

"COME! don't be childish. I tell you I am not speaking of you, my faithful friend. Have you not proved your attachment when I was in fetters? Would you not have followed me to prison?" "I should have followed you to the scaffold!" cried Junot, striking his fist upon the table. Napoleon

laughed "Well, don't you see, then, that it is impossible for me to say anything that should go to your heart and hurt you, Monsieur Junot?" And he pulled his ears, his nose, and his hair Junot drew back

"Ah! I have hurt you," said Napoleon, approaching him, and resting his little white hand upon Junot's light hair, caressing him, as if he meant to pacify a child "Junot," he continued, "do you remember being at the Serbelloni Palace at Milan, when you had just received a wound—just here—at this place?" And the small white hand gently touched the large cicatrice "I pulled away your hair, and my hand was full of blood " The First Consul turned pale at the recollection And it is a remarkable circumstance that Napoleon spoke to me not less than ten times, in the course of his reign, of this incident at Milan, and never without starting and turning pale at the recollection of his blood stained hand

"Yes," he continued, with a movement as if to repress a shudder—"yes, I confess at that moment I felt that there is a weakness inherent in human nature which is only more exquisitely developed in the female constitution I then understood that it was *possible* to faint I have not forgotten that moment, my friend, and the name of Junot can never be mingled in my mind with even the appearance of perfidy Your head is too hot, too heedless, but you are a loyal and brave fellow You, Lannes, Marmont, Duroc, Berthier, Bessieres " At each name Napoleon took a pinch of snuff and a turn in the room, sometimes making a pause and smiling as the name recalled any proof of attachment "My son, Eugene—yes, those are hearts which love me, which I can depend upon Lemarrois, too, is another faithful friend And that poor Rapp, he has been but a short time with me, yet he pushes his affection even to an extent



that might give offence; do you know he even scolds me sometimes?"<sup>1</sup>

YOURS of November 26th\* received. I notice two things in it. You say I do not read your letters; it is an unkind thought. I take your bad opinion anything but kindly. You tell me that perhaps it is a mere phantasy of the night, and you add that you are not jealous. I found out long ago that angry persons always assert that they are not angry; that those who are afraid keep on repeating that they have no fear; you therefore are convinced of jealousy. I am delighted to hear it! Nevertheless, you are wrong; I think of nothing less, and in the desert plains of Poland one thinks little about beauties.

I have had a good laugh over your last letters. You idealise the fair ones of Great Poland in a way they do not deserve. I have had for two or three days the pleasure of hearing Pær and two lady singers, who have given me some very good music. I received your letter in a wretched barn, having mud, wind and straw for my only bed. Tomorrow I shall be at Warsaw. I think all is over for this year. The army is entering winter quarters.<sup>2</sup>

THE Grasshopper cast anchor at Porto Ferraiol† that same evening. Madam Mere seemed much offended that the Emperor was not at the harbour to meet her. He had not been informed of the exact date of the arrival, and had driven out in the island. As soon as the news reached him he hastened to the spot and greeted his mother with much feeling, even with tears. This display of emotion greatly pleased everyone, and proved that instead of being the heart-

\* Letter to Josephine.

† Elba.

less monster represented by his enemies he was indeed sensitive<sup>3</sup>

It was asked one day, in Napoleon's presence, how it happened that misfortunes that were yet uncertain, often distressed us more than miseries that had already been suffered "Because," observed the Emperor, "in the imagination, as in calculation, the power of what is unknown is incommensurable"<sup>4</sup>

THE Emperor could not refrain from evincing some emotion at these two circumstances, so strongly did the countenances, accents, and gestures of these two men bear the stamp of truth. He then said, "See the effect of imagination! How powerful is its influence! Here are people who do not know me—who have never seen me, they have only heard me spoken of, and what do they feel! what would they not do to serve me! And the same caprice is to be found in all countries, in all ages, and in both sexes! This is fanaticism! Yes, imagination rules the world!"<sup>5</sup>

At another time, when some vexation arose at St. Helena, some individual who was near Napoleon at the time, exclaimed, "Ah, Sir, this must indeed increase your hatred of the English." Upon which the Emperor, shrugging up his shoulders, said, in a mingled tone of pleasantry and contempt, "Prejudice, man! Say rather that at most it may increase my hatred of this or that particular Englishman. But since we are on this subject, let me tell you that a man, he who has the true feelings of a man, never cherishes hatred. His anger or ill humor never goes beyond the irritation of the moment,—the electrical stroke. He who is formed to discharge high duties, and to exercise authority,

never considers persons; his views are directed to things, their weight and consequence,"<sup>6</sup>

ON a certain occasion it was observed to the Emperor, that he was not fond of setting forward his own merits: "That is," replied he, "because with me morality and generosity are not in my mouth, but in my nerves. My hand of iron was not at the extremity of my arm, it was immediately connected with my head. I did not receive it from nature; calculation alone has enabled me to employ it."<sup>7</sup>

"My friend," continued the Emperor, "I have sometimes an idea of quitting you, and this would not be very difficult; it is only necessary to create a little mental excitement, and I shall soon have escaped.—All will be over, and you can then tranquilly rejoin your families. This is the more easy, since my internal principles do not oppose any bar to it; I am one of those who conceive that the pains of the other world were only imagined as a counterpoise to those inadequate allurements which are offered to us there. God can never have willed such contradiction to his infinite goodness, especially for an act of this kind; and what is it, after all, but wishing to return to him a little sooner?"

I remonstrated warmly against such notions. Poets and philosophers had said that it was a spectacle worthy of the Divinity, to see men struggling with fortune: reverses and constancy had their glory. Such a great and noble character as his could not descend to the level of vulgar minds; he who had governed us with so much glory, who had excited the admiration, and influenced the destinies, of the world, could not end like a desperate gamester or disappointed lover. What would then become of all those who looked up to and placed their hopes in him? Would he thus abandon

the field to his enemies? The anxiety shown by the latter to drive him to it was surely sufficient to make him resist who, besides, could tell the secrets of time, or dare assert what the future would produce. What might not the mere change of ministry, death of a Prince, that of a confidant, the slightest burst of passion, or the most trifling dispute, bring about?

"Some of these suggestions have their weight," said the Emperor, "but what can we do in that desolate place?" — "Sire," I replied, "we will live on the past there is enough of it to satisfy us. Do we not enjoy the life of Cæsar and that of Alexander? We shall possess still more, you will re-peruse yourself, Sire!" "Be it so!" rejoined Napoleon, "we will write our memoirs. Yes, we must be employed, for occupation is the scythe of time. After all, a man ought to fulfill his destinies, this is my grand doctrine let mine also be accomplished!"\*

THIS incident had, however, some influence on the Emperor's state. He always found difficulty in accustoming himself to the idea that a being whom he loved could love any one else than him, he often confessed this to me\*. "I am attached to you, as to a son, because I believe that you love but me, for if you loved any one besides me, you would not love me. I do not believe that our nature is capable of entertaining a divided love, we deceive ourselves when we think we love two beings equally. There is always a dominant affection, and in the heart of any one whom I love and honour with my confidence, I desire to be that dominant affection, I will have no division. Do you understand?" added he, approaching me and taking me by the ear. He continued, "All these things make me feel the penknife,

\* General Montholon

my nature is very susceptible of impression; the poison of the mind has a much more fatal effect upon me than a dose of arsenic could have. For example; at Fontainebleau Evan assured me that his powder would kill me were I only to inhale the smell of it. Well; it failed in its effect. Mr. Lowe will not fail in his. Before a year is over, you will wear mourning for me."<sup>9</sup>

"ON reading this statement," said the Emperor, "I felt really disgusted at mankind. This was the first moral revulsion I had ever experienced; and if it has not been the only one, it has, perhaps, been at least the most severe. Many individuals in the army thought me ruined, and they were already eagerly seeking to pay their court in the proper quarter at my expense."<sup>10</sup>

## XIX

### FAMILY LIFE IN GENERAL, INCLUDING HIS OWN

"You tell me your glory consists in your happiness. That is narrow minded, one should say my glory consists in the happiness of others. It is not conjugal, one should say, my glory consists in the happiness of my husband. It is not maternal, one should say, my glory consists in the happiness of my children."

NAPOLÉON (Letter to Josephine)

AMONG the prominent characteristics of Napoleon was his fondness for children. This was so well known that it was said he could not, without difficulty, refuse to grant a request presented by a child. His love for Josephine ceased only with his existence, and this should be considered in connection with condemnation of his divorce from the wife of his youth. His love and respect for his mother is one of the brightest stars in his diadem. His devotion and patience as exemplified in his treatment of his brothers and sisters, should appeal to those who term him heartless.

#### LETTERS TO JOSEPHINE

My dear,—Your letter of January 20th has given me pain, it is too sad. That's the fault of not being a little more devout! You tell me that your glory consists in your happiness. That is narrow-minded, one should say, my glory consists in the happiness of others. It is not conjugal, one should say, my glory consists in the happiness of my husband. It is not maternal, one should say, my glory consists in the happiness of my children. Now, since nations—your husband, your children—can only be happy with a certain amount of glory, you must not make little of it. Fie,

Josephine! your heart is excellent and your arguments weak. You feel acutely, but you don't argue as well.

That's sufficient quarreling. I want you to be cheerful, happy in your lot, and that you should obey, not with grumbling and tears, but with gaiety of heart and a little more good temper.

Adieu, dear; I start tonight to examine my out-posts.

NAPOLEON.

I have just received your letter of May 2nd, in which I see that you are getting ready to go to St. Cloud. I was sorry to see the bad conduct of Madame —. Might you not speak to her about mending her ways, which at present, might easily cause unpleasantness on the part of her husband?

From what I hear, Napoleon is cured; I can well imagine how unhappy his mother has been; but measles is an ailment to which every one is liable. I hope that he has been vaccinated, and that he will at least be safe from the smallpox.

Adieu, dear. The weather is very warm, and vegetation has begun; but it will be some days before there is any grass.

NAPOLEON.

I realize the grief which the death of this poor Napoleon, must cause you; you can imagine what I am enduring. I should like to be by your side, in order that your sorrow might be kept within reasonable bounds. You have had the good fortune never to lose children; but it is one of the pains and conditions attached to our miseries here below. I trust I may hear you have been rational in your sorrow, and that your health remains good. Would you willingly augment my grief? Adieu, dear.

NAPOLEON.

Your letter from Lacken just received. I am sorry to see your grief undiminished, and that Hortense has not yet come; she is unreasonable, and does not deserve our love, since she only loves her children.

Try to calm her, and do not make me wretched. For every ill without a remedy, consolations must be found.

Adieu, dear. Yours ever,

NAPOLEON.

My dear,—I note your arrival at Malmaison. I have no letters from you; I am vexed with Hortense, she has never written me a line. All that you tell me about her grieves me. Why have you not found her some distractions? Weeping won't do it! I trust you will take care of yourself in order that I may not find you utterly woebegone.

I have been the two past days at Dantzic; the weather is very fine, my health excellent. I think more of you than you are thinking of a husband far away.

Adieu, dear; very kindest regards. Pass on this letter to Hortense.

NAPOLEON.<sup>1</sup>

"NAPOLEON died in three days at the Hague; I know not if the King\* has advised you of it. This event gives me the more pain insomuch as his father and mother are not rational, and are giving themselves up to all the transports of their grief." To Fouché he writes three days later: "I have been very much afflicted by the misfortune which has befallen me. I had hoped for a more brilliant destiny for that poor child"; and on May 20th, "I have felt the loss of the little Napoleon very acutely. I would have wished that his father and mother should have received from their tem-

\* His brother Louis.



perament as much courage as I for knowing how to bear all the ills of life. But they are younger, and have reflected less on the frailty of our worldly possessions.”<sup>2</sup>

My daughter, all the news I get from the Hague tells me that you are not rational. However legitimate your grief, it must have limits: never impair your health; seek distractions, and know that life is strewn with so many rocks, and may be the source of so many miseries, that death is not the greatest of all.—Your affectionate father,

NAPoleon.

My daughter, you have not written me a line during your great and righteous grief. You have forgotten everything, as if you had nothing more to lose. They say you care no longer for any one, that you are callous about everything; I note the truth of it by your silence. This is not well, Hortense, it is not what you promised me. Your son was everything for you. Are your mother and myself nothing? Had I been at Malmaison I should have shared your grief, but I should have wished you at the same time to turn to your best friends. Good-bye, my daughter, be cheerful; it is necessary to be resigned; keep well, in order to fulfill all your duties. My wife is utterly miserable about your condition; do not increase her sorrow.

Your affectionate father,

NAPoleon.

My daughter, I have your letter dated Orleans. Your grief pains me, but I should like you to possess more courage; to live is to suffer, and the true man is always fighting for mastery over himself. I do not like to see you unjust towards the little Napoleon Louis, and towards all your

friends Your mother and I had hoped to be more to you than we are

NAPOLEON <sup>3</sup>

I have received your\* letter of March 13th If you really wish to please me, you must live exactly as you live when I am at Paris Then you were not in the habit of visiting the second rate theatres or other places You ought always to go into the Royal box As for your home life, hold receptions there, and have your fixed circles of friends, that, my dear, is the only way to deserve my approbation Greatness has its inconveniences, an Empress cannot go where a private individual may

Very best love My health is good My affairs prosper

NAPOLEON <sup>4</sup>

"JOSEPHINE, my excellent Josephine,† thou knowest if I have loved thee<sup>1</sup> To thee, to thee alone do I owe the only moments of happiness which I have enjoyed in this world Josephine, my destiny overmasters my will My dearest affections must be silent before the interests of France"<sup>5</sup>

MADAME AND DEAR WIFE,

After what I had said to my brother, I expected, on my return, to have found you at the Tuileries For some time past Malmaison seems to be doubly dear to you, but surely the blaze of royalty cannot keep you at a distance from your husband If, however, respect and reserve are the duties of all who surround me, yet these obligations are not made for you The greater the burthen of public affairs becomes,

\* Letter to Josephine

† Exclamation made in Bourrienne's presence

the more occasion have I for your presence. It is not the Emperor who desires your return, it is he who is always your husband.

NAPOLEON.<sup>6</sup>

ON one occasion the poet E—— offered to Napoleon to compose for him a genealogy, in which he should prove to the most incredulous that he was sprung from the Kings of the Ostrogoths. "I thank you," replied the Emperor, "but I find myself more honoured by the stock of Bonaparte. My family ought not to date from any era but that of the eighteenth of Brumaire."<sup>7</sup>

"EVEN Napoleon, the Great Captain," continued the duke, "did not think it beneath him sometimes to turn his attention to female dress. Several ladies at the court of the Tuileries knew this by sad experience. One day at Saint Cloud I heard him say in a very angry tone to the wife of a general, 'Madame, when a lady has a husband with an income of 100,000 francs per annum, she may very well afford a new dress every time she has the honour to pay her court to the Empress. Endowments, madame, are favors. I do not owe them; and when I give them it is with the view that they should help to maintain that luxury without which commerce cannot thrive.'" The poor lady was overwhelmed with confusion; yet it must be admitted that the general shabbiness of her dress fully justified this mark of imperial displeasure.<sup>8</sup>

ONE day, when I was transacting business with him, I proposed the advancement of a person who had filled a situation in the civil administration of the imperial stables. He was a man of integrity, and business-like habits, recommen-

dations indispensable to persons employed in public departments under the empire I was rigid in exacting strict attention to duty, and I always used my influence to forward the interests of those who were most deserving I spoke to the Emperor of M——, and set forth his good qualities

"No, Caulincourt," he replied, "M—— is very well where he is Leave him there "

"But, Sire," returned I, "he is a man of excellent abilities, and most assiduous in his attention to business The appointment which I request for him is only an act of justice "

"My dear Caulincourt, I assure you that your *protege* is a fool "

I manifested some surprise on hearing this

"Yes, I tell you he is a fool A husband who suffers himself to be led by his wife always ranks very low in my estimation "

"But," inquired I, with a smile which I could not repress, "how happens it that your Majesty has been acquainted with circumstances which certainly have no connection with the service of the imperial stables?"

"Ah! ah! *grand ecuyer*, you see I know what is going on better than you do," said the Emperor, rubbing his hands and laughing Cagliostro was a poor conjuror in comparison with me "

I nevertheless persevered in my suit in behalf of poor M——, and I obtained for him the place to which his merit well entitled him

"Well, well," said the Emperor, "let him have it, but tell him I like a man to be master in his own house "

"AND what has been the upshot of all this, Sire?" inquired I, (says Caulincourt, referring to an affair at court)

"Par Dieu, that is the best of the joke! You shall hear

This morning I caused an intimation to be given to Madame L——, that it would be advisable for her to send back the Russia leather box to its owner, unless she felt inclined to retire to her old castle in Auvergne, to reflect on the dangers of coquetry. I cannot permit ladies who enjoy the honor of being admitted to pay their court to the Empress, to amuse themselves with these little *espiegleries*, which are worthy of the noble dames of the Regent's Court. Kourakin\* may be let off with the payment of his bills to Madame Bernard, Sike, and others. It is right that he should have a lesson, but he must keep his diamonds."

We renewed our laughter, and the Emperor rubbing his hands with an air of triumph, said—"You see, gentlemen, I know everything that is going on. You cannot keep any secrets from me."<sup>10</sup>

#### TO MADAME MERE

Mayence, 6th November, 1813.

Madame and Very Dear Mother,—I learn by telegraph that Louis has arrived at your house. I send you a copy of the letter he has written me.

If Louis is coming as a French Prince, to rally round the throne, he will find a welcome from me, and oblivion of the past. I brought him up in childhood, and loaded him with kindness. My reward has been the libels with which he has chosen to fill every court in Europe. Yet once again, I will forgive him; you know I never harbour spite. But if Louis, as his letter leads me to fear, comes to claim Holland, he will place me under the painful necessity (1st) of dealing severely with him; (2nd) of doing so permanently, for I should be obliged to send him a formal summons through the Grand Chancellor, and in presence of the Prince Vice-

\* The Russian ambassador.

Grand Elector, the President of the Senate, the Chief Judge, and the Family Secretary, and if he does not acknowledge the laws of the Empire, he will forthwith be declared a rebel

He shows very little generosity in thus causing me fresh trouble, and obliging me to proceed with severity, at a moment when I have so much on my hands, and when my heart needs consolation, and not fresh anguish

Holland is a French country, and will be so for ever The law of the state has thus appointed it, and no human effort can take it away I appeal to you, then, if Louis is coming primed with the same wild fancies as before, to save me the pain of having him arrested as a rebel subject, to induce him to leave Paris, and to live quietly, and unknown, in some corner of Italy He was in Switzerland, why did he leave it?

In spite of all the proofs of hatred he has given me, I cannot believe him to be so wicked, and such an enemy to his children, as to desire in present circumstances, when the whole of Europe is rising up against me, and when my heart is wrung by so much trouble, to cause me the additional distress of obliging me to proceed against him

I close with a repetition of my assurance, that if, on the contrary, he comes simply as a French Prince, to rally round the throne, which is in danger, and to defend the interests of his country, his family, and his children, I will forgive all the past, I will never mention it to him, and I will welcome him, not as remembering his conduct during the past ten years, but as recollecting the affection I had for him in his childhood <sup>11</sup>

IN the midst of these terrific scenes Napoleon almost daily corresponded with Josephine, whom he still loved as he loved no one else On one occasion when the movements of

battle brought him not far from her residence, he turned aside from the army, and sought a hurried interview with his most faithful friend. It was their last meeting. At the close of the short and melancholy visit, Napoleon took her hand, and, gazing tenderly upon her, said,

"Josephine, I have been as fortunate as was ever man upon the face of this earth. But in this hour, when a storm is gathering over my head, I have not, in this wide world, any one but you upon whom I can repose."

\* \* \* \* \*

His last letter but one to her was written from the vicinity of Brienne, after a desperate engagement against overwhelming numbers. It was concluded in the following affecting words:

"On beholding these scenes where I had passed my boyhood, and comparing my peaceful condition then with the agitation and terrors which I now experience, I several times said in my own mind, 'I have sought to meet death in many conflicts. I can no longer fear it. To me, death would now be a blessing. But I would once more see Josephine.'"<sup>12</sup>

A few days after writing this letter, Josephine, crushed by care and sorrow, was taken sick. It was soon evident that her dying hour approached. She received the tidings with perfect composure, and partook of the last sacraments of religion. At the close of these solemn rites she said to Eugene and Hortense, who were weeping at her bedside:

"I have always desired the happiness of France. I did all in my power to contribute to it. I can say with truth, in this my dying hour, that the first wife of Napoleon never caused a single tear to flow."

She called for a portrait of the Emperor, gazed upon it

long and tenderly, and fervently pressing it to her heart, breathed the following prayer

"O God! watch over Napoleon while he remains in the desert of the world Alas! though he hath committed great faults, hath he not expiated them by great sufferings? Just God! thou hast looked into his heart, and hast seen by how ardent a desire for useful and durable improvements he was animated Deign to approve this my last petition, and may this image of my husband bear me witness that my latest wish and my latest prayer was for him and for my children "

She held the miniature of Napoleon in her hand Her last look were riveted upon those features she had loved so faithfully, and faintly exclaiming, "*Island of Elba—Napoleon!*" her gentle spirit passed away into the sweet sleep of the Christian's death <sup>13</sup>

THE emperor at St Helena spoke of his own family "My excellent mother," said he, "is a woman of courage, and of great talent, more of a masculine than a feminine nature, proud, and high minded She is capable of selling every thing even to her chemise for me I allowed her a million a year, besides a palace, and giving her many presents To the manner in which she formed me at an early age, I principally owe my subsequent elevation My opinion is, that the future good or bad conduct of a child entirely depends upon the mother She is very rich Most of my family considered that I might die, that accidents might happen and consequently took care to secure something They have preserved a great part of their property

"Josephine died worth about eighteen millions of francs She was the greatest patroness of the fine arts that had been known in France for a series of years She had frequently little disputes with Demon, and even with myself, as she



wanted to procure fine statues and pictures for her own gallery; and whenever I obtained a fine statue, or a valuable picture, I sent it there for the benefit of the nation. Josephine was grace personified (*la grazia in persona*)."<sup>14</sup>

He came to the conclusion that San Martino\* would be a charming residence for spring and autumn, but that another retreat must be chosen for the summer; and his thoughts turned to Marciana Alta and Monte Giove. That glorious summit seemed to touch infinity, and he had stood wrapt in wonder at the incomparable prospect from it. His imagination was perhaps fired at the thought of the marvellous palace which might stand on the peak of Volterraio, but, alas, the dream was not to be realized by the poor King of Elba!

He was satisfied, however, with much less, and pitched his military tent near the Madonna's chapel, where, "like the ancient kings, he set up his traveller's throne." He took in addition the house belonging to the hermit, who removed himself to his stable. Two or three other tents were put up under the chestnuts, for two orderly officers, who used the chapel as a dressing room, and for some servants. This was all the Emperor's suite. Madam Mere also left Porto Ferrajo and settled down in the village of Marciana Alta, with her chamberlain, her steward, two ladies in waiting, two maids, a cook and four other servants.

The Emperor, also after the manner of kings of old, arranged all the household details himself.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I do not expect to stay here more than four or five days," wrote the Emperor to Bertrand, the day after his arrival.

\* Elba.

He stayed nearly a fortnight, however, and did not leave La Madone until the fourth or fifth of September. No doubt the presence of Monte Giove fascinated him (as well as the expectation of a visitor), and also the rugged village of Marciana, which apparently had the same attraction for Madame Mere. Both mother and son here found an echo of Corsica.

In the grim forbidding looking houses, the intoxicating air, the pure beauty of mountain tops, in the fragrance of the maquis, the long distant past seemed to live again for them both. From the rock, where, with his feet in the heather, he sat to rest, his gun between his knees, not only did he breathe this native perfume, which at St Helena recalled Corsica to him "with his eyes closed," but he could actually see it on the horizon, in the flame of the setting sun. What were his feelings as he looked at his native land over the sea at the close of day, and the close of his own life? Corsica and Elba! The opposite extremities of his glory. There, it had not begun, here, it was nearly over. All his life lay between these two summits.

At Corte over there, the old Gaffori house (riddled with Genoese bullets, and quite impregnable) had been the home of his mother, married at fourteen and celebrated in the island for her beauty.

During the last struggle of Corsica against France for independence, Madame Bonaparte, three months before her son's birth, travelled on horseback with her husband across the plains and valleys of Nebbio, to fight for her country's freedom. The unborn child made this first acquaintance with powder and the hiss of musket balls. Next came the memory of the old house at Ajaccio, burned and pillaged by envious rivals, when the Bonaparte family joined issues with France. There was the memory of little Giacomietta, his eight year

old love, and Pauline his merry little sister and playmate, whose stockings always fell down over her shoes. Then there was his uncle, the arch-deacon Lucien, a patriarch in a cloak of goatskin, following the goats over the mountains, and scolding the shepherds for feeding their flocks on the fresh grass of the forests, which they turned into deserts. Next the departure for Brienne, the return in artillery lieutenant's uniform, then the second departure to fame and Empire.

All this must have passed through his mind as he gazed from Monte Giove, or when alone with his mother, as they looked in each other's eyes, reading the same thoughts: the mother whose energy was untiring, and whose austere tenderness was the only affection left him. The news of Josephine's death had reached him at the Mulini, causing him real sorrow, and his other wife, the Empress, was absent, he knew not where.<sup>15</sup>

## XX

### BUSINESS, WEALTH AND EXTRAVAGANCE

Cease indulging in foolish extravagance which make you the laughing stock of Europe and will end by rousing the indignation of your subjects Sell your furniture your horses and your jewels and pay your debts Honor comes first of all

NAPOLEON (Letter to King Jerome)

It is recognized quite generally that care for details on the part of an administrator is a necessary characteristic for successful work Napoleon carried this trait to its farthest limit, since he took occasion to ascertain for himself if his directions had been fully and correctly carried out

One has but to read his letters to his younger brother Jerome, to learn how seriously he denounced extravagance Even Josephine came under his severe displeasure for this fault While he authorized extensive expenditures for rehabilitating palaces, he had in mind the glory of France in impressing foreigners with the wealth and resources of the Empire and incidentally furnishing employment to artisans and others, he regarded the ends he sought as warranting this course As for himself, when he was banished to Elba he remarked he could easily get along on the pay of an officer of the army He was generally indifferent concerning his food and raiment He engaged in hunting and other recreations more for the sake of others than for his own pleasure

\* \* \* I could see that Bonaparte still had something to say to me As we were walking up and down the room he stopped, and looking at me with an expression of sadness,

he said, "Bourrienne, you must, before I proceed to Italy, do me a service. You sometimes visit *my wife*, and it is right; it is fit you should. You have been too long one of the family not to continue your friendship with her. Go to her. Endeavor once more to make her sensible of her mad extravagance. Every day I discover new instances of it, and it distresses me. When I speak to her on the subject I am vexed; I get angry—she weeps. I forgive her, I pay her bills—she makes fair promises; but the same thing occurs over and over again. If she had borne me a child! it is the torment of my life not to have a child. I plainly perceive that my power will never be firmly established until I have one. If I die without an heir, not one of my brothers is capable of supplying my place. All is begun, but nothing is ended. God knows what will happen! Go and see Josephine, and do not forget my injunctions."

\* \* \* \* \*

I acquainted Madame Bonaparte with all that the Emperor had said to me. I reminded her of the affair of the 1,200,000 francs which we had settled with half that sum. I even dropped some allusions to the promises she had made.

"How can I help it?" said she. "Is it my fault?" Josephine uttered these words in a tone of sincerity which was at once affecting and ludicrous. "All sorts of beautiful things are brought to me," she continued; "they are praised up; I buy them—I am not asked for the money, and all of a sudden, when I have got none, they come upon me with demands for payment. This reaches Napoleon's ears, and he gets angry. When I have money, Bourrienne, you know how I employ it. I give it principally to the unfortunate who solicit my assistance, and to poor emigrants. But I will try to be more economical in future. Tell him so if

you see him again But is it not my duty to bestow as much in charity as I can?"<sup>1</sup>

TO JEROME NAPOLEON, KING OF WESTPHALIA

Bayonne, 16th July, 1808

You owe two millions to the Sinking Fund You have allowed your bills to be dishonoured That is not like a man of honour I never allow any one to forget what is due to me Sell your plate and diamonds Cease indulging in foolish extravagance, which makes you the laughing stock of Europe, and will end by rousing the indignation of your subjects Sell your furniture, your horses, and your jewels, and pay your debts Honour comes first of all It ill becomes you not to pay your debts, when people see the presents you give, and the unexampled luxury you live in, which disgusts your subjects You are young and inconsiderate, and you never pay any attention to money matters, especially at this moment, when your subjects are suffering from the effects of a war<sup>2</sup>

"I give you\* a *carte blanche* for the expenses of the embassy," said he to me 'We must not appear like citizens grown rich—the court of France must not show itself mean and petty Our brother of Russia loves pleasure and luxury Give magnificent *fêtes*—let them have something for their money

He laughed heartily<sup>3</sup> at this allusion The Emperor was rarely gay, but when he was so, his flow of spirits rendered him singularly communicative

"If, sire, I might venture to employ a vulgar phrase, but one that is *à propos* to the subject, I should say—"

"That they have paid the piper beforehand," interrupted he, with a renewed burst of laughter, then, with true Italian

\* Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza

nobility of spirit, he added:—"Now, Caulincourt, let us talk seriously on cabinet diplomacy. As to the diplomacy of the drawing-room, I feel assured that you will manage that like a true nobleman. Attend to me, Caulincourt. Bear in mind my instructions; and above all, bear in mind my political plans and my system. If you do not thoroughly comprehend me, you will not be able to serve me well. In diplomacy, tact and good management are better than cunning. The machinery which used to be set in motion by the diplomatists of past times is now worn out. All their *finesse* is now well known; and after all, when we have it in our power to speak decidedly and downrightly," continued he, raising his head haughtily, "why should we resort to cunning? Dissimulation is always a mark of weakness."<sup>3</sup>

I must repeat to you a remark made by the Emperor on this subject. In my private correspondence with him, I frequently entered into the most minute details of all that was going on. He had desired me to write him gossiping letters. They amused him. When I informed him of the pears at 25 louis apiece, he answered, "When I was sub-lieutenant I should have thought myself very fortunate if my yearly income had been as much as the price of your plate of Russian pears. Such extravagances are only to be expected in madmen or fools."

"I am certain," added the duke smiling, "that the Emperor was really angry at this silly profusion. *Though the piper had been paid beforehand*, yet he found it very difficult to digest the pears and cherries."<sup>4</sup>

I have your letter of the 7th. I could not read it without astonishment. Nobody is talking about you\* in France. I

\* His brother Jerome.

am not aware of what Madame may have caused to be written to you. You think your extravagant living displeases me, and in that you are not mistaken. But, as you mention your extravagance and thus give me an opportunity of telling you just what I think of it, I will not conceal from you, that I consider it impolitic, and ruinous to your dominions.

I do not know that you owe me anything, unless it be your debt to the Sinking Fund. That I thought you had paid for it was lent for a term only. You must be scrupulously exact, and you would do better to keep your engagements than to bestow presents. A certain Morio came here. I did not see him. He did you harm by his indiscreet conversation.

Do not indulge in foolish expenditure. You tell me you implore my indulgence. I can only judge you by your actions. Pray reform your expenses, so as to make a considerable economy on your civil list. The King of Prussia even at the time of his greatest prosperity, never spent more than 3 000 000. The Household of Vienna, too, is not kept up on half the scale of yours. Mistaken ideas of grandeur, and a very thoughtless generosity, have led you to bestow a Barony on Morio. Thus being so, I may very well think that you care little to please me, and that, as you take so little notice of my advice, I had better not give you any more of it.

I have begged you to let me have an exact statement of your troops, so that I may calculate accordingly.

I am sorry to hear you are not well, go to bed early, and live by some rule.<sup>5</sup>



TO M. DE CHAMPAGNY, DUC DE CADORE,  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Paris, 30th December, 18

Put the strongest pressure on the King of Naples make him understand that if measures are not taken to his debts, and if he does not fulfill all his engagements shall exact payment by main force; that his kingdom always costing me money, and that I am furious at being paid what I am owed.<sup>6</sup>

TO COMTE MOLLIEN, MINISTER OF THE PUBLIC EXCHE  
Wesel, 1st November, 18

You will do well to send privately for the Empressphine's Comptroller, and make him aware that nothing be paid over to him, unless proof is furnished that there are no debts; and as I will have no shilly-shallying on the subject, this must be guaranteed on the Comptroller's property. You will therefore notify the Comptroller, from the first of January next, no payment will be made either in your office, or by the Crown Treasury, until he has given an undertaking that no debts exist, and made his own property responsible for the fact. I have information that the expenditure in that household is exceedingly excessive. You will therefore see the Comptroller, and put yourself in possession of all facts regarding money matters; it is absurd that instead of saving two millions of marks as the Empress should have done, she should have more debts to be paid. It will be easy for you to find out the truth about this, from the Comptroller, and to make him understand that he himself might be seriously compromised. Take an opportunity of seeing the Empress Josephine.

hold will be managed with more economy, and that if any debts are left outstanding, she will incur my sovereign displeasure. The Empress Louise has only 100,000 crowns, she pays everything every week, she does without gowns, and denies herself, so as to never owe money.

My intention is, then, that from the first of January, no payment shall be made for the Empress Josephine's household, without a certificate from her Comptroller, to the effect that she has no debts. Look into her budget for 1811, and that prepared for 1812. It should not amount to more than a million. If too many horses are kept, some of them must be put down. The Empress Josephine, who has children and grandchildren, ought to economize, and so be of some use to them, instead of running into debt.<sup>1</sup>

Who in the world ever had greater treasures at his disposal? I have had many hundred millions in my vaults, many other hundreds composed my *domaine de l'extraordinaire*—all these were my own. What is become of them?—They were poured out in the distresses of the country. Let them contemplate me here, I remain destitute upon my rock. My fortune was wholly in that of France. In the extraordinary situation to which fate had raised me, my treasures were hers. I had identified myself completely with her destinies. What other calculation was consistent with the height I had risen to? Was I ever seen occupied about my personal interests? I never knew any other enjoyments, any other riches, than those of the public,—so much so, that when Josephine, who had a taste for the Arts, succeeded under the sanction of my name in acquiring some masterpieces, though they were in my palace, under my eyes, in my family apartments, they offended me, I thought myself robbed. *they were not in the Museum.*<sup>2</sup>

"WHEN I was about to leave the army of Italy," said he, "to return to Paris, Madame Bonaparte wrote to inform me that she had furnished, in the best possible style, a small house that we had in the Rue de la Victoire. The house was not worth more than 40,000 francs. What was my surprise and vexation to find that the drawing-room furniture, which, after all, appeared to me nothing out of the way, was charged at the enormous rate of between 120 and 130,00 francs. In vain did I remonstrate; I was obliged to pay the amount. The upholsterer showed me the directions he had received, and which required that every article should be the very best in its kind. Every thing had been made after new designs, and the designs themselves had been invented expressly for the fitting up of my house. Any judge of the case must have condemned me."

#### NAPOLÉON'S VIEWS ON THE STOCK MARKET

"It seems that the price of stocks, in Paris, is everybody's business except that of the real owners. The so-called buyers and sellers do nothing, in fact, but make bets with one another that such will be at such a time the state of the market. Each of them, in order to make a living, tries to direct the policies of the whole of Europe toward the end that he desires. Each invents, comments on, or misrepresents the facts, penetrates the councils and the cabinets of ministers, the secrets of courts; makes ambassadors speak; decides peace and war; stirs up and misleads opinion, always so arid of novelties and of errors, especially in France, that the more one misleads it the more empire he has over it. And this scandalous influence is not alone exercised by that crowd of adventurers called stock-jobbers. The stock-brokers themselves, to whom all personal speculation is introduced by the nature of their business, take advantage of

their position and buy and sell on their own account. Often they become opposed in interest to those, even, of their own clients. Public morals alone would require the suppression of this abuse, and still other motives join with this. The rights of liberty end where abuses commence."<sup>10</sup>

THE management of the public finances is that part of Napoleon's administration in which his vigilance and habits of business were most conspicuous. Under his government neither deficits nor loans were known, as he provided for every want, either by the ordinary imports, or by the means of contributions levied on the countries which he conquered.

\* \* \* \* \*

"My wish," said Napoleon, "is to secure the good of my people, and I shall not allow myself to be checked in that course by the murmurs of the taxpayers. I exist for posterity, and as it is necessary for France that immense sums should be raised, they shall be levied accordingly. But my object in these measures is to lay a foundation for the resources of my successors, to secure, that it may serve them, instead of the extraordinary ways and means which I have devised for myself."<sup>11</sup>

"Unquestionably," said Napoleon, "nothing ought to be held more sacred than the right of property. Yet, why is it so? Because that principle forms the good of society at large. Parents will thus be stimulated to labor for the benefit of the children. This is human nature, for do we not see all the world build palaces and plant trees for future generations?"<sup>12</sup>

THE Emperor then discussed several points of political economy which are treated by Smith in his *Wealth of Na-*

tions. He admitted that they were true in principle; but proved them to be false in application. "Formerly," said he, "only one kind of property was known, that which consisted in land possessions; afterwards, a second kind arose, that of industry or manufactures, which is now in opposition to the first; then arose a third, that which is devised from the burdens levied on the people, and which, distributed by the neutral and impartial hands of government, might obviate the evils of monopoly on the part of the two others, intervene between them, and prevent them from coming into actual conflict." This great contest of modern times, he called the war of the fields against the factories, of castles against the counting houses.

"It is," he said, "because men will not acknowledge this great revolution in property, because they persist in closing their eyes on these truths, that so many acts of folly are now committed, and that nations are exposed to so many disorders. The world has sustained a great shock, and it now seeks to return to a settled state. There," said he, "is in two words, the Key to the universal agitation that at present pervades; the ship's cargo has been shifted, her ballast has been removed from the stem to the stern; hence are produced those violent oscillations which may occasion her wreck in the first storm, if the crew persist in working the vessel according to the usual method and without obtaining a new balance."<sup>13</sup>

## XXI

### GRAFT AND EXTRAVAGANCE

For speculation, even in most indirect form, Napoleon visited the offender with condign punishment. Even genteel gambling caused for those who engaged in it the loss of his confidence. As for extortion, when a case of this nature came to his knowledge, his anger was worthy of being dreaded by the party discovered in such an act. He was constantly in the habit of investigating all suspicious circumstances and his discernment was such that the culprit was usually found out and his punishment made a warning to all who might contemplate committing similar crimes.

"I am going to let you into the secret, it contains 800,000 francs!" and his\* eyes opened wide. "In our Directorial magistracy, we reflected that a Director going out of office might very possibly go back to his family without a denier—a very unbecoming thing, we therefore invented this little chest, from which we drew a sum for every Director going out of office. There are now no more Directors, we are therefore the possessors of the remainder. What shall we do with it?" Napoleon, who had paid great attention, and began at length, to understand, said "If it comes to my knowledge, the sum shall go to the public treasury, but I should not hear of it (and I know nothing of it yet), you and Ducos, being two old Directors, can divide it between you—only make haste, for to-morrow it might perhaps be too late!"<sup>1</sup>

\* Consul Sieyès

BONAPARTE always spoke angrily of the Directors he had turned off. Their incapacity disgusted and astonished him. "What simpletons! what a government!" he would frequently exclaim when he looked into the measures of the Directory. "Bourrienne," said he, "can you imagine anything more pitiable than their system of finance? Can it for a moment be doubted that the principal agents of authority daily committed the most fraudulent speculations? What venality! what disorder! what wastefulness! everything put up for sale: places, provisions, clothing, and military, all were disposed of. Have they not actually consumed 75,000,000 in advance? And then, think of all the scandalous fortunes accumulated, all the malversions! But are there no means of making them refund? We shall see."<sup>2</sup>

TO GENERAL SAVARY, DUC DE ROVIGO, MINISTER OF POLICE

Dresden, 30th June, 1803.

"You will inform Mons. Bourrienne that he is to break off all correspondence, on any pretence whatsoever, with Hamburg; for that the first time he writes about, or concerns himself, directly or indirectly with Hamburg affairs, I will have him arrested, and I will make him disgorge everything he has stolen from that city."

IN spite of his numerous occupations he himself revised all his accounts; but he had his own method of doing this, and they were always made out to him in their details. He would cast his eye on the first article, sugar for example, and finding some millions of pounds set down, he would take a pen, and say to the person who drew up the accounts: "How many individuals are there in my household?"—"Sire, so many": (and it was necessary to give the answer immedi-

ately).—"And how many pounds of sugar do you suppose they consume per day on an average?"—"Sire, so many."—He immediately made his calculation, and having satisfied himself, he would give back the paper, saying, "Sir, I have doubled your estimate of the daily consumption, and yet you are enormously beyond the mark. Your account is faulty. Make it out again, and let me have greater correctness." This reproof would be sufficient to establish the strictest regularity. Thus he sometimes said of his private as of his public administration, "I have introduced such order, and employed so many checks, that I cannot be much imposed on. If I am wronged at all, I leave the guilty person to settle the matter with his own conscience. He will not sink under the weight of his crime, for it cannot be very heavy."<sup>3</sup>

"MEN are always the same," said the Emperor: "from the time of Pharamond downwards, contractors have always acted thus, and people have always acted the same with respect to them. But at no period of the monarchy were they ever attached in so legal a form, or assailed so energetically and openly as by me. Even among the contractors themselves, the few individuals who possessed honesty and integrity found this in a remarkable instance which occurred after my return from Elba. Some houses in London and Amsterdam secretly negotiated with me a loan of from 80 to 400,000,000 at a profit of seven or eight percent. This neat sum, which was deposited in the Treasury of Paris, was paid to them by rentes on the great book at fifty; they were then distributed among the public at fifty-six or fifty-seven."<sup>4</sup>



THE Emperor himself said, that he enjoyed singular reputation among the heads of offices and accountants. The examination of accounts was a thing he very well understood. "The circumstance that first gained me reputation, in this way, was that while balancing a yearly account during the Consulate, I discovered an error of 2,000,000 to the disadvantage of the Republic. M. Dufresne, who was then chief of the treasury, and who was a perfectly honest man, at first would not believe that the error existed. However, it was an affair of figures; the fact could not be denied. At the treasury several months were occupied in endeavoring to discover the error. It was at length found in an account of the contractor Seguin, who immediately acknowledged it on being shewn the accounts, and restored the money, saying it was a mistake."<sup>5</sup>

"WHEN I was placed at the head of affairs, as Consul, it was only by setting an example of disinterestedness, and employing the utmost vigilance, that I could succeed in changing the conduct of the Administration, and putting a stop to the dreadful spectacle of Directorial speculations. It cost me an immense deal of trouble to overcome the inclinations of the first persons in the State, whose conduct at length became strict and irreproachable. I was obliged to keep them constantly in fear. How often did I not repeat in my councils, that if my own brother were found to be in fault, I should not hesitate to dismiss him."<sup>6</sup>

"I returned from the campaign of Italy," said he, "with but 300,000 francs in my possession. I might easily have carried off 10 or 12 millions; that sum might have been mine. I never made out any accounts, nor was I ever asked for any. I expected on my return to receive some great national

reward It was publicly reported that Chambord was to be given me, and I should have been very glad to have had it, but the idea was set aside by the Directory I had, however, transmitted to France at least 50,000,000 for the service of the State This, I imagine, was the first instance in modern history of an army contributing to maintain the country to which it belonged, instead of being a burthen on it ”’

“If I now possess any thing,” continued he, ‘it is owing to measures which have been adopted since my departure, but even in that case it must depend on a hair’s breadth chance whether there be anything in the world I can call my own or not But every one has his relative ideas I have a taste for founding, and not for possessing My riches consisted in glory and celebrity the Simplon and the Louvre were, in the eyes of the people and of foreigners, more my property than private domains could have been I purchased diamonds for the crown, I repaired and adorned the imperial palaces, and I was often surprised to find that the expenses lavished by Josephine on her green-houses and her gallery, were a real injury to my *Jardin des Plantes* and my *Musee de Paris* ”’<sup>8</sup>

APROPPOS of this event, the Emperor related to us an anecdote, rather curious in itself, and which recalls to mind the mill of San Souci, and the great Frederic When the palace of the King of Rome was about to be built on the heights of Passy, opposite to the Champ de Mars, the Civil List found it necessary to buy not only the ground, but the buildings comprehended within the space destined for the site of the palace and its gardens A poor cooper possessed within this space, a hut, the demolition of which was in

sia, valiant, impetuous and intelligent; in a word, a Czar with a beard on his chin (this he pronounced very emphatically), Europe in his own. He may commence his operations on the German territory, at 100 leagues from the two capitals, Berlin and Vienna, whose sovereigns are his only obstacles. He secures the alliance of the one by force, and with his aid subdues the other, by a single stroke. He then finds himself in the heart of Germany, amidst the princes of the second rank, most of whom are either his relations or dependants. In the meanwhile he may, should he think it necessary, throw a few firebrands across the Alps, on the soil of Italy, ripe for explosion, and he may then march triumphantly to Paris to proclaim himself the new liberator. I know if I were in such a situation, I would undertake to reach Calais in a given time, and by regular marching stations, there to become the master and arbiter of Europe. . . .

Then after a few moments' silence, he added, "Perhaps, my dear Las Cases, you may be tempted to say, as the minister of Pyrrhus said to his master, 'And after all, to what purpose?' My answer is, to establish a new state of society, and to avert great misfortunes. This is a blessing which Europe expects and solicits. The old system is ended, and the new one is not consolidated and will not be so until after long and furious convulsions."<sup>1</sup>

REMARKING on the certainty of the ultimate triumph of modern principles, the Emperor said: "They cannot but triumph. Mark the train of events: even oppression nowadays, turns to the disadvantage of the oppressor."<sup>2</sup>

THE Emperor remarked that he, himself, was the first who applied to France the name of the Great Nation. "And certainly," said he, "she justified the distinction in the eyes of

the prostrate world." Then, after a short pause, he added: "And she will yet deserve and retain that proud title, if her national character should again rise to a level with her physical advantages, and her moral resources."<sup>3</sup>

"THOSE," continued he, "who consented to the union of Poland with Russia, will be the execration of posterity, while my name will be pronounced with respect, when the fine southern countries of Europe are a prey to the barbarians of the north."<sup>4</sup>

AFTER this, the conversation turned upon the national debt and the great weight of taxes in England. Napoleon professed himself doubtful that the English could continue to manufacture goods so as to be able to sell them at the same price as those made in France, in consequence of the actual necessities of life being so much dearer in England than in France. He professed his disbelief that the nation could support the immense weight of taxes, the dearness of provisions, and the extravagance of a bad administration. "When I was in France," continued he, "with four times the extent of territory, and four times the population I never could have raised one half of your taxes. How the English *popolazzo* bear it, I cannot conceive. The French would not have suffered one fourth of them. Notwithstanding your great successes," continued he, "which are indeed almost incredible, and to which accident and perhaps destiny, have much contributed, I do not think that you are yet out of the scrape though you have the world at command, I do not believe that you will ever be able to get over your debt. Your great commerce has kept you up; but that will fail when you shall no longer be able to undersell the manufacturers of other nations, who are rapidly improving. A few

years will shew if I am right. The worst thing England has ever done," continued he, "was that of endeavoring to make herself a great military nation. In attempting that, England must always be the slave of Russia, Austria, or Prussia, or at least subservient to some of them; because you have not a population sufficiently numerous to combat on the continent with France, or with any of the powers I have named, and must consequently hire men from some of them; whereas, at sea, you are so superior; your sailors are so much better, that you can always command the others, with safety to yourselves and with little comparative expense.

"Your soldiers have not the requisite qualities for a military nation. They are not equal in address, activity, or intelligence to the French. When they get from under the fear of the lash, they obey nobody. In a retreat they cannot be managed: and if they meet with wine, they are so many devils (*tanti diavoli*), and adieu to subordination. I saw the retreat of Moore, and I never witnessed anything like it. It was impossible to collect or to make them do any thing. Nearly all were drunk. Your officers depend for promotion upon interest and money. Your soldiers are brave, nobody can deny it; but it was bad policy to encourage the military mania, instead of sticking to your marine, which is the real force of your country, and one which, while you preserve it, will always render you powerful. In order to have good soldiers, a nation must *always be at war*."<sup>5</sup>

SPEAKING of English trade,\* he said: "As it now is, France will soon have the trade of the Brazils; you have in your own colonies more cotton and sugar than you want, and consequently will not take the productions of the Brazils in

\* Napoleon to Dr. O'Meara.

exchange for your merchandise. Now the French will; for Martinique cannot supply a quantity sufficient for the consumption of France. They will exchange their manufactured goods, silks, furniture, wines, etc., against colonial produce, and soon have the whole trade of the Brazils. In like manner they will have the preference in trading with the Spanish colonies; partly on account of the religion, and also because the Spaniards, like other nations, are jealous of a people all-powerful at sea, and will constantly assist to lessen that power; which is most effectually to be done by lessening your commerce. Another piece of folly in your ministers was the allowing any nation but yourselves to trade with India; particularly the Dutch, who will be your greatest enemies; and probably before twenty years, when France has recovered herself, you will see the Dutch unite with her to humble you. . . . Even the Russians will say, 'why should we enrich this nation, to enable her to keep up a monopoly and tyranny of the seas, while our manufactures are numerous and skilful?' You will," continued he, "find that in a few years very little English merchandise will be sold on the continent. . . . You must no longer look to the continent for the disposal of your manufactures. America, the Spanish and Portugese main, are the only vent for them. Recollect what I say to you. In a year or two your people will complain, and say, 'we have gained everything, but we are starving: we are worse than we were during the war.'"

\* \* \* \* \*

"Ere twenty years have elapsed, when I am dead and buried," said he, "you will witness another revolution in France. It is impossible that twenty-nine millions of Frenchmen can live contented under the yoke of sovereigns imposed upon them by foreigners, and against whom they have

fought and bled for nearly thirty years. . . . You are very fond in England of making a comparison between the restoration of Charles the Second and that of Louis; but there is not the smallest similitude. Charles was recalled by the mass of the English nation to the throne which his successor afterwards lost for a *mass*: but as to the Bourbons, there is not a village in France which has not lost thirty or forty of the flower of its youth in endeavoring to prevent their return.”<sup>6</sup>

THE Emperor alluded to Russia: “Who can avoid shuddering at the thought of such a vast mass, unassailable either on the flanks or in the rear, descending upon us with impunity—if triumphant, overwhelming everything in its course; or if defeated, retiring amid the cold and desolation, that may be called its force of reserve, and possessing every facility of issuing forth at a future opportunity? Is not that the head of the Hydra, the Antaeus of fable, which can only be subdued by seizing it bodily and stifling it in the embrace? But where is the Hercules to be found? France only could think of such an achievement, and it must be confessed we made but an awkward attempt.”<sup>7</sup>

“THOSE English,” added he, “who are lovers of liberty, will one day lament with tears having gained the battle of Waterloo. It was as fatal to the liberties of Europe in its effects as that of Phillippi was to those of Rome; and like it, has precipitated Europe into the hands of triumvirs, associated together for the oppression of mankind, the suppression of knowledge, and the restoration of superstition.”<sup>8</sup>

NAPOLÉON spoke about Russia, and said, that the European nations would yet find that *he* had adopted the best possible

policy at the time he had intended to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, which would be the only effectual means of stopping the increasing power of Russia. It was putting a barrier, a dyke to that formidable empire, which it was likely would yet overwhelm Europe. "I do not think," said he, "that I shall live to see it, but you may. You are in the flower of your age, and may expect to live thirty-five years longer. I think that you will see that the Russians will either invade and take India, or enter Europe with four hundred thousand Cossacks and other inhabitants of the deserts, and two hundred thousand real Russians."

"In the course of a few years," added he, "Russia will have Constantinople, the greatest part of Turkey, and all Greece. This I hold to be as certain as if it had already taken place. Almost all the cajoling and flattering which Alexander practised towards me was to gain my consent to effect this object. I would not consent, foreseeing that the equilibrium of Europe would be destroyed. In the natural course of things, in a few years Turkey must fall to Russia. The greatest part of her population are Greeks, who you may say are Russians. The powers it would injure, and who could oppose it, are England, France, Prussia, and Austria. Now as to Austria, it will be very easy for Russia to engage her assistance by giving her Servia, and other provinces bordering upon the Austrian dominions, reaching near to Constantinople. The only hypothesis that France and England may ever be allied with sincerity will be in order to prevent this. But even this alliance would not avail. France, England, and Prussia united cannot prevent it. Russia and Austria can at any time effect it. Once mistress of Constantinople, Russia gets all the commerce of the Mediter-



anean, becomes a great naval power, and God knows what may happen."<sup>10</sup>

HE then spoke at length about the state of England, observed, that it was necessary not to yield too much to the people, or to allow them to think that it was conceded through fear. That perhaps the suspension of the habeas corpus act might, for a short time, be a proper step, as well as an army kept up to intimidate the *canaille*. "But," said he, "I consider these to be only topical applications, which if used without general remedies, that should act upon the constitutional disease, might prove repellent and dangerous, by driving the complaint to nobler parts. England may be likened unto a patient requiring to have his system changed by a course of mercury. The only radical remedy is that which will affect the constitution, that is to say, relieve the misery which exists. This can only be effected by procuring a vent for your manufactures, and by reduction of expenditure, ministers setting the example themselves, by giving up the sinecures, etc. This would contribute essentially to calm the public agitation. Had the ministers come forward like men, at the opening of the session of parliament, and thrown up their sinecures, this, with the example set by the Prince Regent, would have quieted all tumults and complaints. The people, in expectation of experiencing something radically beneficial from so good a beginning, would have united, and time would have been gained to adopt measures to relieve the general distress. An exclusive commercial treaty for twenty years with the Brazils and Spanish South America might still be demanded with success. Or assist the colonies in rendering themselves independent, and you will have all their commerce."<sup>11</sup>

"OH, those Bourbons! Well may the French say, *ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oublié* They rest upon a sleeping lion I see France in a flame I see rivers of blood flowing You will behold a general massacre of the Bourbons take place, the old noblesse, the priests, and many an innocent Englishman and friend to liberty will pay the forfeit of his life to expiate the wicked policy of Lord Castlereagh The imagination always exceeds the reality, and the great latitude given in the concordat to the king and to the priests to revive all the ancient superstition and intolerance, will set France in a flame, and produce another revolution of *bonnets rouges*, and *à bas les calottes*"<sup>12</sup>

'FALSEHOOD passes away, and truth remains! The sensible portion of the present age, and posterity in particular, will form their judgment only from facts And what has been the consequence? Already the cloud is breaking, the light is piercing through, and my character grows clearer every day It will soon become the fashion in Europe to do me justice'<sup>13</sup>

At St Helena, Napoleon said "Italy is one nation, unity of customs, language and literature must in a period more or less distant unite her inhabitants under one sole government, and Rome will without the slightest doubt be chosen by the Italians as their capital"<sup>14</sup>



upon unfortunate humanity? She utters complaints on all sides Europe which had taken up arms against the French republic has laid them down Your nation alone remains, and yet blood is about to flow more copiously than ever This sixth campaign is announced by sinister presages Whatever may be the issue, we shall destroy, on both sides, thousands of men, and at last be obliged to come to an understanding, because everything has its limits, even the most hateful passions

"The executive directory of the French republic has already signified to his majesty, the emperor, its desire to put an end to a war so ruinous to the people of both nations The intervention of the court of London opposed the fulfilment of the wish Is there no hope of coming to an understanding? Must we, for the interests and passions of a nation removed from the evils of war, continue to slaughter one another? You, sir, who by your birth, stand so near the throne—you, who are the commander in chief, and exalted far above those low passions by which governments and ministers are often animated, are you determined to deserve the title of a benefactor of humanity and to become the true deliverer of Germany?

"Do you suppose, sir, that I intend by this, to say that it is not possible to deliver the country by force of arms, but on the supposition that the chances of war should turn in your favour, Germany will not be the less ravaged For myself, sir, if the overture which I now make to you saves the life of a single man, I shall be prouder of the civic crown which *I shall thus have deserved, than of that melancholy glory which is the result of military success*"<sup>1</sup>

AFTER the treaty of Camp Formio, on the point of quitting

Italy, on the 11th of November, 1797, he wrote the following letter to the Genoese government:

"I will respond, citizen, to the confidence you have reposed in me. You feel obliged to diminish the expenses of your administration, in order not to overtax your people. It is not enough to act in no respect contrary to religion; you must endeavor moreover to give no subject of inquietude to even fearful consciences, and no tool to evil-intentioned persons.

*"To exclude all the nobles from any public office would be an act of injustice in the highest degree; you would be doing then, what they did before. The free port is an apple of discord which has been thrown in the midst of you. . . . The town of Genoa must hold the freedom of its port from the will of the legislative body. Why is the Ligurian people so changed? Its first impulses of fraternity have been succeeded by fear and terror. The priests had first rallied round the tree of liberty; they first told you that the morality of the gospel is democratic, but men, paid by your enemies, and the immediate assistants of tyranny in all revolutions, have taken advantage of the faults, perhaps even the crimes of some priests, to write against religion, and the priests have retired. . . . You have proscribed en masse, and the number of your enemies has increased. . . . When in any state, but particularly in a small state, one becomes accustomed to condemn without hearing, to applaud a discourse because it is impassioned, when exaggeration and madness are called virtue, moderation and equity designated as crimes, that state is near its ruin. Believe me that wherever my duty and the service of my country may call me, I shall consider that one of the most happy moments of my life, in which I hear that the people of Genoa are united among themselves and live happily."*<sup>2</sup>

"I place in your hands the peace of Campo Formio, ratified by the Emperor \* This peace secured the liberty, prosperity and glory of the republic When the happiness of the French people shall be founded upon the best organic laws, the whole of Europe will become free"

\* \* \* \* \*

'If you wish," said General Bonaparte, "to make war, you must prepare for it, quite independently of this incident respecting Bernadotte, you must not engage your troops in Switzerland, in the South of Italy, or on the coasts of the ocean

"It will be necessary not to proclaim the intention of reducing the army to 100,000 men, which is not yet executed, it is true, but which is known, and operates as a discouragement to the troops These measures indicate that you have reckoned upon the continuance of peace Bernadotte has been essentially wrong and by declaring war, you will play the game of England It required but a very small knowledge of the cabinet of Vienna, and its policy, to be certain, that if it had really wished for war it would not have insulted you—on the contrary, it would have caressed you, and lulled your suspicions whilst the troops were being prepared for action, you would only have discovered its real intentions by the first fire of the artillery Be assured that Austria will give you satisfaction To suffer a nation thus to be at the mercy of such casual events is not to have, or to pursue, any great system of policy" The power of truth calmed down the indignation of the government, and the Emperor gave ample satisfaction The conferences of Seltz took place, but the incident delayed the expedition to Egypt for fifteen days \*

\* Emperor of Austria

## INSPECTION OF PRISONS

Each prison shall be inspected at least once in every year, previous to the report of the privy council, referred to as above. Such inspection shall be made by one or more councillors of state, appointed by us for that purpose, on the recommendation of our minister of justice, and shall take place before the first of September in each year. Our commissioners shall visit every part of such prison, in order to be well assured that no one is detained contrary to the prescribed forms, and that the means of safety, order, cleanliness, and health are carefully maintained. They shall hear the complaints of each prisoner apart, his observations on the change of circumstances which may affect his case, and his demands either to be brought to trial or set at liberty. They shall set at liberty all persons detained contrary to the provisions required by chap. i. 13. They shall make a report of their mission, and give their opinion on the case of each prisoner. These opinions shall all be laid before the privy council referred to in chap. i. art. 3. Before the 15th of February in each year, the attorney-general of the imperial court of the district, by means of one of his deputies or imperial attorneys under his orders, shall verify such reports, and see that no persons are detained in the state prisons within his jurisdiction, in opposition to the forms above prescribed, and that the registers are regularly kept. A minute of this visit shall be drawn up, which shall be forwarded to our ministers of justice, and in case of any contravention of this decree, or of any detention either illegally enforced or prolonged, the commissioner charged with the duty of such visitation shall set all such persons at liberty.<sup>4</sup>

AFTER the usual formalities he began to speak to the Elbans of their country, of the various mayors of each commune,

and of the changes he proposed to make. He seemed to know the precise wants of every commune, the number of inhabitants, and the resources of each. He knew how much revenue came from the salt workings, how many boats were used for the tunny fisheries, and which was their best season, moreover, he not only conversed with the Elbans about their habits and ancient customs, their chestnut trees and chestnut flour polenta (he spoke in Italian to those who did not understand French), not only did he tell them the dates of the foundation of their towns and villages (of which most of them were quite ignorant), and all the details of their history, but he appeared to know better than any of them the topography of their island, and informed them, almost to a foot, of the height of their mountains. The Elbans listened, their mouths open with astonishment.

The key to the mystery was simple. The Emperor, while at Fontainebleau, had sent to Paris for any papers that existed on the history of Elba, since its annexation by France. He also found in his library books and maps containing full information about his future kingdom amongst them the *Voyage a l'île d'Elbe*, by Arsène Thibault published in 1808. In the catastrophe which shook the whole of Europe, and lost him his throne he remembered to put this guide book in his pocket, and master its contents on the journey. No doubt the book was not absolutely correct as to archæological details, but it was worth taking the risk, and for the political history of the island he had gone to the papers of the sub-prefecture that very morning on board the English frigate. His command of detail, and his power of conception never left him and the effect he made was, as usual, unerring. The Elbans were astounded.<sup>5</sup>

He visited the forts, examining their turrets, their cellars,



bastions, and stores. He criticised the various strategic points on foot, or on horseback, often walking for ten hours under heat that would have felled an ox. At the end of a fortnight everyone was completely knocked up. "He alone was perfectly fresh and well. He gave orders which had to be executed on the spot—everyone working their flesh off their bones."<sup>6</sup>

"WE condemn Louis XVI.; but, independently of his weakness, he was placed in peculiar circumstances. He was the first monarch on whom the experiment of modern principles was tried. His education, his innate opinions, led him to believe that all that he defended, either openly or secretly, belonged to him of right. There might be a sort of honesty even in his want of faith, if I may be permitted to say so. At a subsequent period, the same conduct would have been inexcusable, and even reprehensible. Add to all this, that Louis XVI. had every one against him, and one may form an idea of the innumerable difficulties which fate had accumulated on that unhappy prince. The misfortunes of the Stuarts, which have excited such deep interest, were not more severe."<sup>7</sup>

NAPOLEON was fully aware that the restoration which he so much desired, depended not on him but on the course of events. He had no illusions as to the situation. "The Bourbons" (as he better than anyone else expressed it) "held my actions in their hand. If they realised that they had to inaugurate a new dynasty, and not to continue the old, there was nothing left for me to do, my political mission was concluded. I might remain in Elba. But their entourage, and the mistakes they committed, rendered me desirable. It was they who rehabilitated my popularity, and gave the

word for my return. People may object that the Congress of Vienna would have deported me from my island, and I admit that this circumstance hastened my return. But if France had been well governed, my influence was a thing of the past, and no one would have thought of reinstating me. It was the course of events in Paris that made people think of the exile, and led to the whole affair ' 3

YOUR ministers will not always be able to impose on the English people with respect to me. Sooner or later your nation will render me justice, and the English will be the first to take part, and avenge the savage hatred of their ministers.

Notwithstanding all their libels, I fear nothing for my renown, posterity will render me justice. It will compare the good which I have done with the faults which I have committed, I do not fear the result. If I had succeeded, I should die with the reputation of being the greatest man who ever existed, from being nothing, I became by my own exertions, the most powerful monarch of the universe, without committing any crimes. If crime had been in accordance with my opinions, neither Louis XVIII, nor Ferdinand would now reign. Many times have their heads been offered to me for a price, and their death has been daily put forward to me as advisable. I refused, I do not regret it. My ambition was great, I confess it, but it rested on the opinion of the masses, I have always thought that sovereignty resides in the people, the empire, as I had organized it, was but a great republic. Called to the throne by the voice of the people, my maxim has always been, 'a career open to talent, without distinction of birth', and it is for this system of equality that the European oligarchy detests me. And

yet, in England, talent and great services raise a man to the highest rank—you should have understood me.<sup>9</sup>

“THE governor and his government,” said the Emperor, “act absurdly in this question, and do not understand it at all. I do not call myself Napoleon, Emperor of France, but the Emperor Napoleon, which is a very different thing, because it is in accordance with the usage adopted by sovereigns who have abdicated. It was thus that James II preserved his title of king and majesty after having lost his crown; and that King Charles of Spain preserved the title of king, after he had abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand VII. If I were in England, I would not call myself Emperor; but a pretension is, in this case, put forward, that the French nation had not the right to make me its sovereign without the permission of the king of England. Never shall I yield to that.

“A man at the head of a weak party, during popular disturbances, is called a rebel chief; but he has no sooner succeeded, performed great actions, and raised his country and himself, than he is designated general, president, consul, or sovereign. It is success alone which justifies and confirms the title. If he be less successful or less fortunate, he remains merely a rebel chief, or perishes on the scaffold. For years Washington was nothing more than a leader of rebels in the eyes of the mother country; but victory crowned him with laurels, and England was condemned to recognize him as chief magistrate of the United States of North America. It would be truly ridiculous in me to call myself Emperor in the position in which I am now placed, and this would only suggest the recollections of those unfortunate maniacs, who in their chains, and on their beds of straw, have imagined themselves to be kings. It is only the Eng-

lish ministry which compels me by its conduct towards me, and makes my French pride wish and continue to claim this title as long as things shall remain as they are at present ”<sup>11</sup>

“AND after all, what is there to fear? That I should wage war? I am now too old for that Is it feared that I should resume my pursuit of glory? I have enjoyed glory even to satiety I have wallowed in it, and it may be said to be a thing which I have henceforth rendered at once common and difficult Is it supposed that I would recommence my conquests? I did not persevere in them through mania, they were the result of a great plan, and I may even say that I was urged to them by necessity They were reasonable at the moment when I pursued them, but they would now be impossible They were practicable once, but now it would be madness to attempt them And besides, the convulsions and misfortunes to which France has been subjected, will henceforth give rise to so many difficulties, that to remove them will be a sufficient source of glory without seeking for any other ”<sup>11</sup>

I am dependent on events He says the same at St Helena “Throughout my whole reign I was the keystone of an edifice entirely new, and resting on the most slender foundations Its duration depended on the issue of my battles I was never, in truth, master of my own movements, I was never at my own disposal ”

DEEPLY affected by the insult, the Emperor said to Sir Hudson Lowe “You push the annoyance so far as to enter into the most contemptible details, you have the audacity to endeavour to make me believe that no changes have taken place since your arrival, that I mistake your intentions, and

would entertain a very different opinion of you, if I knew you better. No, Sir—no, I should not change my opinion; generals are known by their victories, or their noble actions. How should I know you in any other relation than that of my jailor? You never suffer a day to pass without torturing me by your insults. Where have you ever commanded anything but bandits or deserters, the refuse of every country? I am well acquainted with the names of all the English generals of distinction; I have never heard your name mentioned except as a brigand chief. You have never commanded men of honour; you say you have not asked for the government of this rock, but you forget that there are certain employments which are never conferred upon any, except such as are especially distinguished by the manner in which they dishonour themselves. Executioners do not solicit the disgrace of their employment, and whilst inflicting tortures on the unfortunate whom they are about to kill, like you, they say: 'I only obey my orders, and if I were less skilfull you would only suffer the more.' Moreover, I do not believe your government to be so blinded by their hatred towards me, as to have disgraced themselves by prescribing the infamous course of conduct which you pursue. In short, do not weary me any more with the disgusting details of your regulations respecting my table; send nothing to Longwood if you choose, I shall go and sit down at the table of the officers of the brave 53rd; I am persuaded there is not one of them who will refuse to share his dinner with an old soldier like myself. You have full power over my body, but my mind is, and will remain, beyond your reach. It is as proud and as full of courage on this rock, as when I commanded Europe."<sup>12</sup>

It was the 3rd of September; the Emperor remarked upon

this on reading the date of the despatch which I communicated to him. He was in the drawing room, sitting before a large fire, and said to us 'It is to day the anniversary of a hideous remembrance, the massacres of September, the St Bartholomew of the French Revolution, a bloody stain, which was the act of the Commune of Paris, a rival power to the legislature, which built its strength upon the passions of the dregs of the people. I often asked Roederer, who was procureur-general, for an explanation of this massacre, commenced without any apparent cause. he always answered, that it was an act of fanaticism, the commune neither called it forth nor protected it, and merely let it alone, because it would have compromised itself had it endeavoured to prevent it. The Septembriseurs did not pillage, they only wished to murder, and they even hanged one of their own number, for having appropriated a watch which belonged to one of their victims. They danced like cannibals around the still palpitating body of the Princess de Lamballe, while devouring her heart.

"We must acknowledge that there has been no political change, without a fit of popular vengeance, as soon as, for any cause whatever, the mass of the people enter into action.

"The Prussian army had arrived within forty leagues of Paris, the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick was to be seen on all the walls of the city, the people had persuaded themselves that the first pledge of the safety of the revolution was the death of all the royalists. They ran to the prisons, and intoxicated themselves with blood, to the cry of *Vive la Revolution*. Their energy had an electric effect, by the fear with which it inspired the one party, and the example which it gave to the other. 100,000 volunteers joined the army, and the revolution was saved.

"I might have saved my own crown, by letting loose the

people against the men of Restoration. You well recollect, Montholon, when at the head of your regiments of faubouriens, you wished to punish the treachery of Fouche, and to proclaim my dictatorship—I did not choose to do so; my whole being revolted at the thought of being king of another Jacquerie.

“General rule; no social revolution without terror. Every revolution is in principle a revolt, which time and success ennoble and render legal, but of which terror has been one of the inevitable phases. How, indeed, can we understand that one could say to those who possess fortune and public situations, ‘Begone, and leave us your fortunes and your situations!’ without first intimidating them and rendering any defense impossible. The reign of terror began, in fact in the night of the 4th of August, when privileges, nobility, tithes, the remains of the feudal system, and the fortune of the clergy were done away with, and all these remains of the old monarchy were thrown to the people. Then only did the people understand the revolution, because it gained something and wished to preserve it, even at the expense of blood. Till this time, a considerable part of the population of the country had believed that without a king, and the tithes for the clergy, the harvest could not be good.

“Barrere said truly, *Le peuple bat monnaie sur le place Louis XVI*; alluding to the guillotine which enriched the national treasury, by the death of the nobles, whose wealth became the property of the nation. A revolution is always, whatsoever some may think, one of the greatest misfortunes with which Divine anger can punish a nation. It is the scourge of the generation which brings it about; and for a long course of years, even a century, it is the misfortune of all, the advantage of individuals.

“True social happiness consists in regular and peaceful

order in the harmony of every one's relative enjoyment. I gave millions every year to the poor, I made immense sacrifices to aid and assist industry; and yet, France has more poor than in 1787. The reason is, that revolutions, however well conducted, destroy everything instantaneously, and only reconstruct it after a considerable time. The French revolution was a national convulsion, as irresistible in its effects as an eruption of Vesuvius. When the mysterious fusion which takes place in the entrails of the earth is at such a crisis that an explosion follows, the lava escapes and the eruption takes place. The unperceived workings of the discontent of the people follow exactly the same course; when their sufferings arrive at maturity, a revolution bursts forth.

"I have often heard it said, that Louis XVI would have been able to consecrate the revolution, and preserve his crown. I do not think so; his education, as well as his personal convictions, made him regard, as belonging lawfully to him, all that of which the nation wished to deprive him, and which he would have been obliged to give up voluntarily, to put an end to the revolutionary movement. M. Necker, whom the favour of the people has dominated a great minister, was incapable of saving the throne; I conversed with him during my journey to Geneva; he was a good chief clerk of the treasury; nothing more. All his ideas of government were only speculations. I believe however, that a true statesman, if prime minister under Louis XVI, at his accession to the throne, and governing in a masterly manner, like Cardinal Richelieu, would have been able to save the crown of his master, and satisfy all the reasonable demands of the French people. But at the time when the States were convoked, it was out of the power of man to prevent the revolution. Thus I understood it in my youth, and my opinion has not been changed by what I



have learned and seen of royalty. A revolution can neither be made nor prevented. One or several of its children can direct it by dint of victories, its enemies may repress it for a moment by force of arms, but then the fire of revolution glimmers under the ashes, and, sooner or later, the flame kindles again and devours all before it. The Bourbons are greatly deceived if they believe themselves firmly seated on the throne of Hugh Capet. I do not know whether I shall ever again see Paris; but what I know is, that the French people will one day break the sceptre which the enemies of France have confided to Louis XVIII.

"My son will reign, if the popular masses are permitted to act without control; the crown will belong to the Duke of Orleans if those who are called liberals gain the victory over the people; but then, sooner or later, the people will discover that they have been deceived,—that the white are always, white, the blue always blue,—and that there is no guarantee for their true interests, except under the reign of my dynasty, because it is the work of their creation.

"I did not usurp the crown,—I picked it up from the gutter; the people placed it on my head. I wished the name of Frenchmen to be the most noble and desirable on the earth. I was king of the people, as the Bourbons are kings of the nobles, under whatever colours they may disguise the banner of their ancestors. When, full of confidence in the sympathy of the nation, I returned from Elba, my advisors insisted that I ought to take notice of some of the royal party; I constantly refused, answering to those who gave me this advice: 'If I have remained in the hearts of the mass of the people, I have nothing to do with royalists; if not, what, will some more or less avail me to struggle against what would have become the opinion of the nation?' "<sup>18</sup>

' BESIDES, when once I conceived a prejudice, I retained it this again was the misfortune of my situation and my circumstances But how could it be otherwise? I had no time for details I could only take into consideration summaries and abstracts I was very sure that I might be deceived, but where was my alternative? Few sovereigns have done better than I '14

' I have not fallen into the error of modern systematizers," said the Emperor, ' who imagine that all the wisdom of nations is centered in themselves Experience is the true wisdom of nations And what does all the reasoning of economists amount to? They incessantly extol the prosperity of England, and hold her up as our model, but the Custom House system is more burthensome and arbitrary in England than in any other country They also condemn prohibitions, and they are in fact necessary with regard to certain objects Duties cannot adequately supply the place of prohibitions there will always be found means to defeat the object of the legislator In France we are still very far behind on these delicate points, which are still unperceived or ill understood by the mass of society Yet what advancement have we not made,—what correctness of ideas has been introduced by my gradual classification of agriculture, industry, and trade, objects so distinct in themselves, and which present so great and positive a graduation!

"1st *Agriculture*, the soul, the first basis of the empire!

2nd *Industry*, the comfort and happiness of the population

"3rd *Foreign trade*, the superabundance, the proper application of the surplus of agriculture and industry

"Agriculture was continually improving during the whole course of the revolution. Foreigners thought it ruined in

France. In 1814, however, the English were compelled to admit that we had little or nothing to learn from them.

"Industry or manufactures, and internal trade, made immense progress during my reign. The application of chemistry to the manufactures caused them to advance with giant strides. I gave an impulse, the effects of which extended throughout Europe.

"Foreign trade, which in its results is infinitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign trade is made for agriculture and home industry, and not the two latter for the former. The interests of these three fundamental cases are diverging and frequently conflicting. I always promoted them in their natural graduation; but I could not and ought not to have ranked them all on an equality. Time will unfold what I have done, the natural resources which I created, and the emancipation from the English which I brought about. We have now the secret of the commercial treaty of 1783. France still exclaims against its author; but the English demanded it on pain of resuming the war. They wished to do the same after the treaty of Amiens; but I was then all-powerful; I was a hundred cubits high. I replied that if they were in possession of the heights of Montmartre I would still refuse to sign the treaty. These words we echoed through Europe.

"The English will now impose some such treaty on France, at least if popular clamour, and the opposition of the mass of the nation, do not force them to draw back. This thralldom would be an additional disgrace in the eyes of that nation, which is now beginning to acquire a just perception of her own interests.

"When I came to the head of the government, the American ships, which were permitted to enter our ports on the

score of their neutrality, brought us raw materials, and had the impudence to sail from France without freight, for the purpose of taking in cargoes of English goods in London. They moreover had the insolence to make their payments, when they had any to make, by giving bills on persons in London. Hence the vast profits reaped by the English manufacturers and brokers, entirely to our prejudice. I made a law that no American should import goods to any amount, without immediately exporting their exact equivalent. A loud outcry was raised against this: it was said that I had ruined trade. But what was the consequence? Notwithstanding the closing of my ports, and in spite of the English who ruled the seas, the Americans returned and submitted to my regulations. What might I not have done under more favourable circumstances?

"Thus I naturalized in France the manufacture of cotton, which includes —

"1st *Spun cotton* — We did not previously spin it ourselves, the English supplied us with it as a sort of favour.

"2nd *The web* — We did not yet make it, it came to us from abroad.

"3rd *The printing* — This was the only part of the manufacture that we performed ourselves. I wished to naturalize the two first branches, and I proposed to the Council of State, that their importation should be prohibited. This excited great alarm. I sent for Oberkamp, and I conversed with him a long time. I learned from him, that this prohibition would doubtless produce a shock, but that after a year or two of perseverance, it would prove a triumph, whence we should derive immense advantages. Then I issued my decree in spite of all, this was a true piece of statesmanship.

"I at first confined myself merely to prohibiting the web,

then I extended the prohibition to spun cotton; and we now possess within ourselves the three branches of the cotton manufacture to the great benefit of our population, and the injury and regret of the English:—which proves that in civil government as well as in war, decision of character is often indispensable to success. I offered a million of francs as a reward for the discovery of a method of spinning flax like cotton, and this discovery would undoubtedly have been made, but for our unfortunate circumstances. I should then have prohibited cotton if I could not have naturalized it on the continent.

“The encouragment of the production of silk was an object that equally claimed my attention. As Emperor of France and King of Italy, I calculated on receiving an annual revenue of 120 millions from the production of silk.

“The system of commercial license was no doubt mischievous! Heaven forbid that I should have laid it down as a principle. It was the invention of the English; with me it was only a momentary resource. Even the continental system, in its extent and rigour, was by me regarded merely as a measure occasioned by the war and temporary circumstances.

“The difficulties and even the total stagnation of foreign trade during my reign, arose out of the force of circumstances and the accidents of the time. One brief interval of peace would immediately have restored it to its natural level.”<sup>15</sup>

It was afterwards stated that Lord Castlereagh had said, in Parliament, that the reason why the French army was so much attached to Bonaparte, was, that he made a kind of conscription of all the heiresses of the empire, and then distributed them amongst his generals. “Here again,” ob-

served the Emperor, "Lord Castlereagh tells a wilful falsehood. He came amongst us; he had an opportunity of seeing our manners and laws, and of knowing the truth; he must be certain that such a thing was quite impracticable, and out of my power. What does he take our nation for? The French were never capable of submitting to such tyranny. I have, no doubt, made a great number of matches; and I would gladly have made thousands more; it was one of the most effectual methods of amalgamating and uniting irreconcilable factions. If I had more time to myself, I would have taken great pains to extend these unions to the provinces, and even to the confederation of the Rhine, in order to strengthen the connection of those distant portions of the empire with France; but in such proceedings I only exerted my influence, and never my authority. Lord Castlereagh disregards such distinctions; it is important to his policy to render me odious; he is not scrupulous about the means; he does not shrink from any calumny; he has every advantage over me. I am in chains; he has taken all precautions for keeping my mouth shut, and preventing the possibility of my making any reply, and I am a thousand leagues from the scene of action; his position is commanding; nothing stands in his way. But certainly this conduct is the *ne plus ultra* of impudence, baseness and cowardice."<sup>19</sup>

"My dear Sir," said the Emperor to me, at another moment, after having again run over the events of the 18th of Brumaire, "that is a far different thing, you will allow, from the conspiracy of St. Real, in which there is much more plotting, and much less result; ours was struck at a single blow. It is certain that there never was a great revolution

which caused less inconvenience; it was so generally desired; it was accordingly crowned with universal applause.

"For my part, all my share in the plot for effecting this change, was confined to the assembling the whole crowd of my visitors at the same hour in the morning, and marching at their head to seize on power. It was from the threshold of my door, from the top of my own steps, and without my friends having any previous knowledge of my intentions that I led them to this conquest; it was amidst the brilliant escort they formed, their lively joy, and unanimous ardour, that I presented myself to the bar of the ancients, to thank them for the Dictatorship with which they invested me.

"Metaphysicians have disputed, and will long dispute, whether we did not violate the laws, and whether we were not criminal; but these are mere abstractions, at best fit for books and tribunes, and which ought to disappear before imperious necessity; one might as well blame a sailor for waste and destruction, when he cuts away his mast to avoid being overset. The fact is, that had it not been for us the country must have been lost; and we saved it. The authors and chief agents of that memorable state transaction may and ought, instead of denials or justifications, to answer their accusers proudly, like the Roman, *We protest that we have saved our country; come with us and return thanks to the gods.*"<sup>17</sup>

"NOTHING," continued he, "has been more simple than my elevation. It was not the result of intrigue or crime. It was owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and because I fought successfully against the enemies of my country. What is most extraordinary, and I believe unparalleled in history, is, that I rose from being a private

person to the astonishing height of power I possessed, without having committed a single crime to obtain it. If I were on my death-bed, I could make the same declaration."<sup>18</sup>

"NEVER with all the powers of poetry, have the fictions of the burning of Troy equalled the reality of that of Moscow. The city was of wood, the wind was violent; all the pumps had been carried off. It was literally an ocean of fire. Nothing had been saved from it; our march was so rapid, our entrance so sudden. We found even diamonds on the women's toilets, they had fled so precipitately. They wrote to us in a short time afterwards that they had sought to escape from the first bursts of a dangerous soldiery; they had recommended their property to the generosity of the conquerors, and would not fail to reappear in the course of a few days to solicit their kindness and testify their gratitude.

"The population was far from having plotted that atrocity. Even they themselves delivered up to us three or four hundred criminals, escaped from prison, who had executed it.

"Peace, concluded at Moscow, would have fulfilled and wound up my hostile expeditions. It would have been, with respect to the grand cause, the term of casualties and the commencement of security. A new horizon, new undertakings, would have unfolded themselves, adapted, in every respect, to the well-being and prosperity of all. The foundation of the European system would have been laid, and my only remaining task would have been its organization.

"Satisfied on these grand points, and everywhere at peace, I should have also had my congress and my holy alliance. These are plans which were stolen from me. In that assembly of all the sovereigns we should have dis-



cussed our interest in a family way, and settled our accounts with the people, as a clerk does with his master.

"The cause of the age was victorious, the revolution was accomplished; the only point in question was to reconcile it with what it had not destroyed. But that task belonged to me; I had for a long time been making preparations for it, at the expense, perhaps of my popularity. No matter. I became the ark of the old and of the new covenant, the natural mediator between the ancient and modern order of things. I maintained the principles and possessed the confidence of the one; I had identified myself with the other. I belonged to them both; I should have acted conscientiously in favor of each:

*"My glory would have consisted in my equity."*

And after having enumerated what he would have proposed between sovereign and sovereign, and between sovereigns and their people, he continued: "Powerful as we were all that we might have conceded, would have appeared grand. It would have gained us the gratitude of the people. At present, what they may extort, will never seem enough to them, and they will be uniformly distrustful and discontented."

He next took a review of what he would have proposed for the prosperity, the interests, the enjoyments and the well-being of the European confederacy. He wished to establish the same principles, the same system everywhere. A European code; a court of European appeal, with full powers to redress all wrong decisions, as ours redress at home those of our tribunals. Money of the same value but with different coins; the same weights, the same measures, the same laws.

"Europe would soon in that manner," he said, "have really been but the same people, and every one, who travel-

led, would have everywhere found himself in one country "

He would have required, that all the rivers should be navigable in common, that the seas should be thrown open, that the great standing armies should, in future, be reduced to the single establishment of a guard for the sovereign <sup>19</sup>

AFTER dinner the Emperor was induced, by the turn the conversation took, to review the special subject of his maritime dispute with England "Her pretensions to blockade on paper," he observed, "produced my famous Berlin decree The British Council, in a fit of passion, issued its orders, it established a right of toll on the seas I instantly replied by the Milan decrees, which denationalized every flag that yielded obedience to the English acts, and it was then that the war became, in England, truly personal Every one connected in trade was enraged against me England was exasperated at a struggle and energy, of which she had no example She had uniformly found those, who had preceded me, more complaisant "

The Emperor explained, on a later occasion, the means, by which he had forced the Americans to make war against the English He had, he said, discovered the way of connecting their interests with their rights, for people, he remarked, fight much more readily for the former than for the latter

"The English may now be omnipotent, if they will but confine themselves to their navy But they will endanger their superiority, complicate their affairs, and insensibly lose their importance, if they persevere in keeping soldiers on the continent

The circumstances in which we were placed were extraordinary and totally new, it would be vain to seek for any parallel to them I was myself the keystone of an edifice

totally new, and raised on a slight foundation! Its stability depended on each of my battles? Had I been conquered at Marengo, France would have encountered all the disasters of 1814 and 1815, without those prodigies of glory which succeeded, and which will be immortal. It was the same at Austerlitz and Jena, and again at Eylau and elsewhere. The vulgar failed not to blame my ambition as the cause of all these wars. But they were not of my choosing; they were produced by the nature and force of events; they arose of that conflict between the past and the future—that constant and permanent coalition of our enemies, which obliged us to subdue under pain of being subdued.”

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On one occasion he addressed a crowd of people in the following blunt manner:—“It is said that you are discontented—but why? France has not conquered, but adopted you: you are excluded from no benefits which are enjoyed by the French; you are a portion of the same family, and participate in all its advantages. Consider now: I have selected my Prefects, Chamberlains, and Counsellors of State from amongst you in a just proportion to the amount of your population, and I have augmented my guard with your Dutch guard. You complain of distress; but, in this respect, France has still greater reason to be dissatisfied. We all suffer, and we must continue to do so until the common enemy, the tyrant of the sea, the vampire of your trade, shall be brought to reason. You complain of the sacrifices you have made; but come to France and see all that you still possess beyond what we do, and then, perhaps, you will deem yourselves less unfortunate. . . . Why not rather congratulate yourselves on the circumstances that have brought about your union with France. In the present state of Europe, what would you be, if left to yourselves?—The

slaves of all the world. Instead of which, identified as you are with France, you will one day possess the whole trade of the great Empire."

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"Did you really stand so much in awe of me? I suppose you dreaded my sharp rebuffs; but you ought to have known that I always lent a ready ear to every one, and that I never refused to administer justice. You should have balanced the reward of the good action, with the danger of the reprimand. After all, I confess that my reproofs were in most instances the result of calculation. They were frequently the only means I possessed of learning the man's temper, of discovering, by stealth, the different shades of his character. I had little time for inquiry; and a reprimand was one of my experiments. For example, I lately gave you a repulse, and this enabled me to discover that you were somewhat headstrong, extremely susceptible, sufficiently candid, but sullen; and I may say, too sensitive," he added, pinching my ear. "I was," continued he, "obliged to surround myself, as it were, with a halotude, many would have made free to eat out of my hand, or to pat me on the shoulder. We are naturally inclined to familiarity."<sup>20</sup>

"It is more difficult than generally supposed," said the Emperor, "to speak to every body in a crowded assemblage, and yet say nothing to any one; to seem to know a multitude of people, nine-tenths of them are total strangers to one."

Again, when alluding to the period when he was in the plenitude of his power, he observed, that it was at once easy and difficult to approach him, to communicate with him, and to be appreciated by him; and that it depended on the merest chance in the world whether his courtiers made or missed their fortunes. "Now that I am myself entirely out

of the question," said he, "now that I am reduced to the level of a mere private individual, and can reflect philosophically on the time when I was called to execute the designs of Providence, without, however, ceasing to be a man, I see how much the fate of those I governed really depended upon chance; and how often favor and credit were purely accidental. Intrigue is so dextrous, and merit often so maladroit, these extremes approximate so closely to each other, that with the best intentions in the world, I find that my benefits were distributed like prizes in a lottery. And yet could I have done better? Was I faulty in my intentions, or remiss in my exertions? Have other sovereigns done better than I did? It is only thus that I can be judged. The fault was in the nature of my situation, and in the force of things."<sup>21</sup>

THE turn of the conversation led us to speak of the Island of Elba, of the Emperor's occupations, sensations and opinions while he continued there; finally, his return to France, and the brilliant success which attended him, and which, he said, he never for a moment doubted. Many observations were repeated, which I have already noted down at different times. At one moment he said: "They may explain this as they will; but I assure you, I never entertained any direct or personal hatred of those whose power I subverted. To me it merely was a political contest; I was astonished myself to find my heart free of animosity, and, I may add, animated by good will towards my enemies. You saw how I released the Duke d'Angouleme; and I would have done the same by the King, and even have granted him an asylum of his own choosing. The triumph of the cause in no way depended on his person, and I respected his age and his misfortunes. Perhaps also I felt grateful for a certain de-

gree of consideration which he in particular had observed towards me. It is true, that at the moment to which I am now alluding, he had, I believe, outlawed me and set a price upon my head, but I looked upon all this as belonging to the manifesto style. The same kind of denunciations were also issued by the Austrian government, without, however, giving me much uneasiness, though I must confess that my dear father in law was rather too severe on the husband of his beloved daughter."<sup>22</sup>

NAPOLEON seemed instinctively attached to his grand principle of acting only on masses and by masses. Both at the commencement of the enterprise, and after his landing in France, he was repeatedly urged to treat with some of the authorities, but he constantly returned the same excellent answer: "If I still hold a place in the hearts of the people, I need concern myself but little about individuals in authority, and if I could only rely on the latter, what service could they render me in opposing the great mass?"

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"Sir,"\* said the Emperor, "you are mistaken, you have taken a wrong view of the matter. The Bourbons were not wanting in courage, they did all they could. The Count d'Artois flew to Lyons, the Duchess d'Angouleme proved herself an amazon in Bourdeaux, and the Duke d'Angouleme offered as much resistance as he could. If, in spite of all this, they could attain no satisfactory object, the fault must not be attributed to them, but to the force of circumstances. The Bourbons, individually, could do no more than they really did, the contagion had spread in every direction."<sup>23</sup>

\* Count Las Cases

"My great principle was to guard against reaction, and to bury the past in oblivion. I never condemned any opinion, or proscribed any act. I was surrounded by men who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. They were in the Ministry, and in the Council of State. I did not approve of their doctrines; but what had I to do with them? what right had I to constitute myself their judge. Some had been actuated by conviction, others by weakness and terror, and all by the delirium and fury of the moment. The fatality of the Greek tragedy was exemplified in the life of Louis XVI."<sup>24</sup>

SPEAKING of his imperial system, Napoleon observed that it had been the means of creating the most compact government, establishing the most rapid circulation in all its parts, and calling forth the most nervous efforts that had ever been witnessed. "And nothing short of this," said he, "would have enabled us to triumph over such numerous difficulties, and to achieve so many wonders. The organization of the Prefectures, their operations, and the results they produced, were admirable. One and the same impulse was simultaneously communicated to more than 40,000,000 of men; and, by the help of those centres of local activity, the movement was no less rapid and energetic at the extremities than in the heart of itself.

"Foreigners who visited France, and who were capable of observing and discerning, were filled with astonishment. To this uniformity of action prevailing over an immense extent of territory, must be attributed those prodigious efforts and immense results, which were acknowledged to have been hitherto inconceivable.

"The Prefects with their local authority and resources, were themselves *Emperors on a small scale*. As their whole power proceeded from the main spring, of which they were

only the communicating channels; as their influence was not personal, but was derived from their temporary functions; as they had no connection with the district over which their jurisdiction extended; they presented all the advantages of the great agents of the old system, without any of their disadvantages. It was necessary to create this power," continued the Emperor, "for the force of circumstances had placed me in the situation of a dictator. It was requisite that all the filaments issuing from me, should be in harmony with the first cause, or my system would have failed in its result. The net-work which I spread over the French territory, required a violent tension and prodigious power of elasticity, in order to make the terrible blows that were constantly levelled at us, rebound to distant points. Thus most of the springs of my machinery were merely institutions connected with dictatorship, and measures for war-like defence. When the moment should have arrived for slackening the reins, all my connecting filaments would have relaxed sympathetically, and we should then have proceeded to our peace establishment and local institutions. If we yet possessed none of these, it was because circumstances did not admit of them. Our immediate fall would have been the infallible consequence, had we been provided with them at the outset. It must not be supposed that the nation was all at once prepared to make a proper use of her liberty. Both with respect to education and character, the bulk of the people were imbued with too many of the prejudices of past times. We were daily improving, but we had yet much to acquire. At the time of the revolutionary explosion, the patriots, generally speaking, were such by nature and by instinct: with them patriotism was an innate sentiment, a passion, a frenzy. Hence the effervescence, the extravagance, the fury that marked the



period. But it is in vain to attempt to naturalize and mature the modern system by blows or jumps. It must be implanted with education, and must take root with reason and conviction; and this will infallibly take place in course of time, because modern principles are founded on natural truths. But," added he, "the men of our time were eager for the possession of power, which they exercised with a domineering spirit, to say no worse, while on the other hand they were ready to become the slaves of those who were above them! . . . We have always wavered between these two extremes. In the course of my journeys I was often obliged to say to the high officers who were about my person:—pray let the prefect speak for himself. If I went to some sub-division of a department, I then found it necessary to say to the prefect:—let the sub-prefect or the mayor make his reply. So eager were all to eclipse each other, and so little did they perceive the advantage that might arise from direct communication with me! If I sent my great officers or ministers to preside at the electoral colleges, I always advised them not to get nominated as candidates for the Senate, as their seats were secured to them by other means, and I wished that they should resign the honor of nomination to the principal individuals of the province, but they never conformed with my wishes."

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The Emperor at another moment said: "Despotism is not absolute; but merely relative. A man cannot with impunity absorb all power within himself. If a Sultan strike off the heads of his subjects, according to the whim of the moment; he incurs the risk of losing his own by the same sort of caprice. Excess will always incline either to one side or the other. What the sea gains by encroachment in one direction, it loses elsewhere. When I was in Egypt, a conqueror, an

absolute ruler and master, dictating laws to the people by mere orders of the day, I could not have presumed to search the houses, and it would have been out of my power to have prevented the inhabitants from speaking freely in their coffee-houses, where liberty and independence prevailed even in a greater degree than in Paris. The people yielded like slaves in all other places, but they resolved to enjoy full liberty in their coffee houses which were absolutely the citadels of freedom the bazars of public opinion. Here they loudly declaimed and passed judgment on the measures of the day it would have been impossible to close their mouths. If I happened to enter these places, all bowed before me, it is true but this was a mark of esteem to me personally. No such homage was shewn to any lieutenants ' 25

THEN, apropos of Charlemagne, the Emperor passing from poetry to politics said to me

"My object was to destroy the whole of the feudal system as organized by Charlemagne. With this view I created a nobility from among the people, in order to swallow up the remains of the feudal nobility. The foundations of my ideas of fitness were abilities and personal worth, and I selected the son of a farmer or an artisan to make a duke or a marshal of France. I sought for true merit among all ranks of the great mass of the French people and was anxious to organize a true and general system of equality. I was desirous that every Frenchman should be admissible to all the employments and dignities of the state provided he was possessed of talents and character equal to the performance of the duties whatever might be his family. In a word, I was eager to abolish to the last trace, the privileges of the ancient nobility, and to establish a government,

which at the same time that it held the reins of government with a firm hand, should still be a popular government. The oligarchs of every country in Europe soon perceived my design, and it was for this reason that war to the death was carried on against me by England. The noble families of London, as well as those of Vienna, think themselves prescriptively entitled to the occupation of all the important offices in the state, and the management and handling of the public money. Their birth is regarded by them as a substitute for talents and capacities; and it is enough for a man to be the son of his father, to be fit to fulfil the duties of the most important employments and highest dignities of the state. They are somewhat like kings by divine right; the people are in their eyes merely milch cows, about whose real interests they feel no concern, provided the treasury is always full, and the crown resplendent with jewels.

"In short, in establishing a hereditary nobility, I had three objects in view;

1. To reconcile France with the rest of Europe.
2. To reconcile old with new France.
3. To put an end to all feudal institutions in Europe by re-connecting the idea of nobility with that of public services, and detaching it from all prescriptive or feudal notions.

"The whole of Europe was governed by nobles who were strongly opposed to the progress of the French revolution, and who exercised an influence which proved a serious obstacle to the development of French principles. It was necessary to destroy this influence, and with that view to clothe the principal personages of the Empire with titles equal to theirs. The success was complete: from that time forward the nobility of Europe ceased to be opposed to France, and with secret joy witnessed the creation of a new

nobility, which appeared inferior to the ancient merely because it was new, they did not foresee the consequences of the French system, which tended to depreciate and uproot the feudal nobility, or at least to compel its members to reconstitute themselves by a new title

"The ancient nobility of France, on their restoration to their country and to a part of their estates, eagerly resumed all their titles, and although not legally, yet in fact, considered themselves more than ever as a privileged class every attempt at fusion or amalgamation with the chiefs of the revolution was attempted with difficulties, which were at once completely removed by the creation of new titles There were none of the ancient families which did not willingly form alliances with the new dukes, in fact, the Noailles, Corbels, Louvois, and Fleurys, were new houses, creations of Louis XIV and Louis XV From their origin the most ancient houses in France sought for their alliance, and in this way the families of the revolution were consolidated, and old and new France reunited It was particularly with this view that I conferred the first title on Marshal Lefebvre The marshal had been a common soldier, and every one in Paris had known him as a sergeant in the French guards

"My plan was to reconstruct the ancient nobility of France Every family which reckoned among the number of its ancestors a cardinal, a great officer of the crown a marshal of France, chancellor, keeper of the seals minister etc, was entitled on that account to sue for the title of duke You, Montholon, for example, would have been a duke, because you were descended from chancellors and keepers of the great seal of France Every family which had had an archbishop, ambassador, chief president, lieutenant general, or vice-admiral, the title of count every

family which had had a bishop, major-general, rear-admiral, councillor of state, or president of parliament, the title of baron. These titles would not have been encumbered with any other charge than an obligation on the part of the claimants to provide a fixed income for the eldest son, of 100,000 francs for a duke, 30,000 for a count, and 10,000 for a baron. This principle was to form a rule for the past and the present, and intended also as a standard for the future. From this plan there sprung up an historical nobility which united the past, the present, and the future; and was founded, not upon any distinction of blood, which constitute an imaginary nobility, inasmuch as there is only one race of men, but upon services done to the state. In the same manner, therefore, the son of a peasant might say to himself, I shall one day be a cardinal, marshal of France, or minister; so might he on this principle say I shall one day be a duke, count or baron, as he may say now, I shall follow commerce, and gain millions for my family. A Montmorency would have been made a duke, not because he was a Montmorency, but because one of his ancestors had been constable of France, and rendered important services to the state. This changed the whole nature of the nobility, which had been hitherto feudal, and established on its ruins an historical nobility, founded upon the claims of its possessors to the love of their country or the respect of their sovereign. This idea like that of the Legion of Honour, and the university, was in itself eminently liberal, well calculated, at the time, to consolidate social order and to annihilate the pride of the nobility. It at once destroyed the pretensions of the oligarchy, and maintained in all their integrity the dignity and legal rights of mankind. It was a creation organizing a liberal idea, and completely characteristic of the new age. I never had recourse to precipitation in the execution of my

council of state, I required twenty years for the accomplishment of my plans, but I have only had fifteen ' 26

As a king, prince Louis always exhibited a truly paternal solicitude for the interests of his people, and sacrificed to them even all his patriotic feelings as a Frenchman, and no Dutchman could ever say that he was a more ardent lover of his country than the king His abdication, after a reign of five years, was the action of a morbid mind, but the consequence of the course of political conduct which he pursued, in direct contradiction to those principles which had placed the crown on his head The error which my brothers committed consisted in not comprehending that they were not, and could not be, kings, except as supporters of my policy, and that their kingdoms could never acquire prosperity except as satellites of France The act of the king of Westphalia in quitting the grand army with his guard, in order not for a moment to be under the command of a French marshal, and that of the king of Holland, in submitting, as a question to his privy council, whether they should not, at the cannon's mouth, refuse entrance into Amsterdam to the corps of Marshal Oudinot, are things which common sense could scarcely believe, were it not that the testimony of credible witnesses of those moments of infatuation does not permit the facts to be doubted

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Undoubtedly, the last article was equivalent to an order for the execution of these articles to the Kings of Spain Holland and Naples, and the less doubt that could be entertained of this, the more culpable did these kings render themselves, who yielding to the influences of local interests, eluded the full execution of these measures, which were the results of deep political views, and intended as a means of

compelling England to enter upon negotiations, which aim, from the moment of my accession to power, was the ruling idea of all my political conduct.<sup>27</sup>

ALL these little burgher independencies, united into a community for the common interest, formed an independent state, which was long flourishing and prosperous. It had its origin in a fine political idea, to offer a home to the victims of policy and intolerance. It was thus that the Greeks constituted their states, and that they had been able to struggle against Asia and the Romans. Holland fell, like Greece, because it was old, troubled by intestine disorders, and its mutual bonds half broken. It had been moreover a capital defect in its state-organization; its sovereign was not a monarch, but had in his hands all the means of becoming so. As long as the princes of Nassau were not ambitious on their own account, they lived honoured and glorious, and held a good rank in Europe. They courageously resisted Louis XIV; their flag was respected; they had a preponderance among the sovereigns of the second order, and those of the first sought their alliance; they were in the true condition of a good government-equality in the sovereignty between the prince and the states-general. Should this equality once be broken by any encroachment on one side or the other, there would be danger to both; and this is precisely what happened.<sup>28</sup>

FRANCE, by her geographical situation, the fertility of her soil, the energy and intelligence of her inhabitants, is the arbitress of European states. She departs from the character assigned her by nature when she becomes a conquering power. She descends from it, when she consents to obey the obligations of any alliance whatsoever. She is among

the nations of Europe what the lion is amongst the other animals which surround him. She cannot move without being either a protectress or a destroyer. She lends the assistance of her arm, but never exchanges aid for her own personal interest, or to augment the weight of her influence in the scale of nations. Her own force is always sufficient, for even when she is momentarily affected by the malady of nations—intestine divisions—she recovers, by convulsive efforts, the power of punishing her enemies for having dared to provoke her to the combat. In 1793 and 1794, the whole of Europe formed a coalition against her, 100,000 fanatical Vendéans, armed and paid by England, threatened Paris, 1,300,000 Frenchmen instantly flew to arms, from the love of their country, and not, as has been said, through fear of the guillotine. Europe was conquered—condemned to recognize the French republic, and to submit to the empire of those principles of liberty and equality by which France had just been regenerated. There is nothing great of which the French are not capable, danger electrifies them, it is their Gallic inheritance. The love of glory is with them like a sixth sense, and when, after many years of peace, the wailings of a few mothers, shall no longer find an echo, the conscription will become a point of honour, and the nation will be able to defy reverses, invasion and ages!

Those who are called to hold the reins of such a kingdom should comprehend the full value and bearing of the favorable position which France enjoys, and never suffer a nation which was destined to be a sun, to degenerate into a satellite.

The whole of my policy was uniformly directed by this opinion, both during the consulate and the empire. I was ambitious to effect the fusion of all the great interests of Europe, as that of parties had been effected in France—to become the arbiter between nations and their kings, but



for this, it was first necessary to gain the confidence and the friendship of the latter, which could only be acquired at the expense of my popularity with the former. I knew it, but I felt myself to be all-powerful, and took little note of those murmurs which would have been soon replaced by gratitude, had the great work of my ambition been accomplished. It was with this view, that after the battle of Austerlitz, I gave liberty to Alexander, who, being hemmed in at Holich, asked it of me, and gave me his imperial word that he would lead back into Russia, by hasty marches, the shattered remnants of the Russian army, and no longer mix himself in the quarrels of Austria;—that after Wagram I did not partition Austria; I could have done it—nothing would have been easier; for one of the arch-dukes begged me to separate the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary from that of Austria; and he said to me—Place me upon the throne, I will give you every possible guarantee that you can require, and then only you will have nothing to fear from the Austrian power, whose policy is the depression of France. Metternich is your personal enemy; my brother suffers himself to be led blindfolded by him; and whatever may be said, he will still remain master under the reign of my nephew.

I, however, believed the protestations of the Emperor Francis. I suffered the triple crown to remain upon his head, but I was wrong. I committed a fault, also, in marrying the arch-duchess Marie Louise, because from that day I looked upon the house of Austria as a part of my family, and if I had not been ruled by my own impressions of the sacredness of family bonds, I would have waited for the pacification of Spain before I engaged in the affairs of the north, and the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. Had I not reckoned on the integrity of the Austrian alliance,

the war in Russia would not have taken place. It could have been avoided in principle. It would have been enough for that purpose not to have interfered with the infractions of the treaty of Tilsit, and to have allowed Russia to sell her natural productions to England in exchange for English manufactures. This was the vital question of the quarrel.

Each of my victories was a diplomatic step in my aim of restoring peace to Europe. After the battle of Marengo, as well as those of Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram and Dresden, I always offered a general peace, and when 400 000 French men and allies of France were on the banks of the Niemen, and whilst the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia were waiting for a friendly reception on my passage, I still stretched out the hand of a brother to the Emperor Alexander, and renewed to him the solemn declaration that all my conquests beyond the natural limits of France, were neither made nor retained for any other purpose than that of compensation or exchange at a general peace.

Had I reigned twenty years longer, I would have shown the difference between a constitutional emperor and a king of France. The kings of France have never done anything but for the interests of their dynasty, and with a view of increasing their feudal power by the depression of the high nobility, the extinction of the great fiefs and their reunion with the crown.

Henry IV was a valiant captain, but he owed his crown more to his double abjuration than to his victories. His memory is only popular, because by a *bon mot* he gave evidence of some sympathies for the people. But, in fact, he never did anything for them.

Louis XIV was a great king. He did great things, and nobly maintained the honour of the nation, both in his wars and by his diplomatic acts, but the whole spirit of his reign

may be compressed into the single phrase—*L'état c'est moi*, (I am the state). All his actions and thoughts were directed towards the attainment of personal greatness. He acted and created from pride, and not from patriotism.

The national character sank under the reign of the kings of the third race: everything for the moment and the fancy, and nothing for the future; such was the principle and such were the manners which they conferred on the French nation. I would have changed the face of France and of Europe. Archimedes promised to move the world, if they only furnished him a fulcrum for his lever; I would have made a fulcrum for myself, wherever I could have placed my energy my perseverance. My budgets squandered, a world may be ruined. Had the city of Paris employed in solid buildings, all the money which it wasted for ten centuries on structures of wood and painted cloth, to feast its kings, Paris would have been a wonder worthy of fabulous times; wherever my dominion has extended, there remain durable monuments of its benefits.<sup>29</sup>

THE convention had no desire for a war with England, and had a good negotiator in London; Chauvelin, the ambassador, was no longer recognized, but Maret, who then had charge of foreign affairs, was directed to treat. He made very reasonable overtures, which were rejected. Having returned with new powers, he made important concessions, very advantageous both to England and Holland; but Pitt dreaded the degree of power to which France might raise herself, if she were allowed peaceably to establish her revolution, and he never thought that he would imperil the destiny of the whole of Europe by taking up her arms against French liberty.

The convention had sacrificed Louis XVI. The great

crime was committed: but England was the only power in Europe which had no pretence of right to punish them for it. It was England, nevertheless, that undertook to perform an act of vengeance which would have been quite natural for the houses of Spain or Austria. It was evident that after having dared to commit such a crime, the convention neither had the inclination nor the power to shrink before any menaces, nor to retrograde in its career. The warlike enthusiasm, but above all, the revolutionary enthusiasm, which had been exhibited in France after the battle of Jemappes, ought to have led men to foresee, that in the moment of the most serious danger, when the armies of Clairfait and the emigrés were threatening the country, there would be a great national demonstration—an unanimous rising en masse throughout the whole of France for its defence. England however, which assumed the lead in forming the coalition, knew well that she would only occupy the second line in the war, and would even scarcely appear otherwise than in her subsidies. It was a great importance to her, that continental Europe should be embroiled in dangers; the supremacy which she aimed at usurping would thus become more certain, and she would rule over Europe by the evils which she was instrumental in causing—she would curb and delay the progress of French industry, by keeping the French people busy in the field of battle. She supported within the republic those factions which were to tear it to pieces; she refused to negotiate with the convention, and she promised herself to nourish terror, she wished to be heir of the death of Louis XVI, and dispute its results with the republic. Chauvelin was dismissed on the 24th of January, 1783; Maret remained till February 3rd, but he also was ordered to leave the country when war became imminent; he carried back with him the conviction, that Pitt was the irreconcil-

able enemy of the prosperity of France. England carried with her, in her hatred, all Europe, except Denmark, which always remained faithful to France, and Tuscany, governed by the wise and liberal Leopold. This was a sentence of death to Holland, which was so placed as to receive the first fire of the republic; but William V, who had destroyed that fine country, to which his ancestors had been invited with such glorious hospitality, was, in consequence of his eagerness to accede to the wishes of England, obliged to submit to the results of her usurpation and his servility. The convention declared war against England, and against Holland, which had become her satellite.

It would be a magnificent field for speculation, to estimate what would have been the destinies of France and of Europe, had England satisfied herself with denouncing the murder of Louis XVI, which would have been for the interest of public morality, and listened to the counsels of a philanthropic policy by accepting revolutionized France as an ally. Scaffolds would not then have been erected over the whole country; kings would not have shaken on their thrones, but their states would have all, more or less, passed through a revolutionary process, and the whole of Europe without a convulsion, would have become constitutional and free, without jealousy and without ambition. The fancy of the Abbe de St Pierre would have been realized. The French republic would have felt secure in her own resources and surrounding safety, and would not have entertained the idea, or felt the wish, of invading other states. She would not have felt the necessity of victory, and the implacable legislation which supported that necessity within herself would not have shed those torrents of blood which have steeped the soil of France; no other superiority, except that of law, would have sprung up in her bosom, and there would have

been no room for the display of private ambition. Her whole glory would have been in her tribunes, and on the seats of justice, and all her interests would have constrained the development and perfection of industry. Commerce and agriculture, with the arts, would have become the patrimony of liberty. A single campaign, perhaps, would have taken place in the commencement, which would have fixed the limits of France at the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. This would have been her only conquest. France would then have been the greatest miracle in civilization, she would have revived the Rome of the Scipios, and the Greece of Miltiades and Leonidas. England would have been merely a manufactory and counting house, because France would have become the metropolis of the world. The sentence of death was passed upon by France by England, but events seemed to arrest the judgment and to give hopes of its revocation.

A king does not belong to nature, but only to civilization, and he must march at its head. The ancient crown of the Bourbons was broken, and Louis XVI brought to the scaffold, because royalty had not kept pace with the progress of civilization. The French people said of me, He is our King—the others are the Kings of the Nobles. The confidence of the people constituted my power. The people were right; all my thoughts when on the throne were for France, all my wishes in exile were for her happiness, and if I gained the affection of the French people, it was because I deserved it, by never promising anything which I did not perform. The first duty of a prince is to fulfil the wishes and meet the expectations of his people, but what the people wish, seldom corresponds with what they say, the wishes and wants of the people are found less in their mouths than in the heart of the prince. Every system may

be maintained, that of affability as well as that of severity; both have their chances of success and their dangers. I often affected severity in order to spare myself the necessity of doing that which policy demanded. The archives of my ministers, those of my cabinet, have fallen into the hands of my most implacable enemies, and what have they found there to impugn my justice, and the rigid probity of my administration? Nothing. Where is the sovereign who, in my position in the midst of factions, disturbances and unceasing conspiracies, would have inflicted fewer punishments or had less recourse to the executioner? And, notwithstanding, what was the calm which pervaded France on my elevation to the head of affairs as First Consul! All my disinterestedness and all the inflexibility of my character were absolutely necessary to change the modes of administration, and to put an end to that frightful spectacle of demoralization organized in the saloons of Barras, which recalled the monstrous disorders of the times of the regency.

Immorality is, unquestionably, the worst and most destructive disposition which a sovereign can possess, because it becomes the fashion and a means of success to courtiers, among whom all vices find their natural support; it poisons the very sources of all virtue, and infects the whole social body like an epidemic. It is, in short, the most dreadful of all national scourges. Public morality, on the contrary, is natural complement of law, and has an especial code of its own. There is no doubt, that revolutions regenerate morals, in the same manner as the richest manure produces the most splendid vegetation.

The occupation of Amsterdam by our troops was ordered by me, because of the necessity for shutting all the coasts and the ports of Holland against English commerce. I

ordered the French division of our garrison, which was cantoned at Utrecht, to guard the coasts of the Zuyder Zee

The king abdicated. If he had had more confidence in me, he would have remained King of Holland, the Dutch loved him, and justly, and would have preserved him at the peace. The esteem and love of his people, would have done for him what the treaty of 1813 did for Murat.

The dangers of France brought back Louis to me, he came to offer me his services like a good brother and a good Frenchman.

The expedition between Walcheren and against Antwerp, was the means of proving his worth as a king and as a general. His instantaneous and energetic decision saved Antwerp, Holland was almost destitute of troops, all the disposable forces of the Dutch army were on the Elbe. Louis did not hesitate to confide the crown to the patriotism of the Dutch, and he arrived at the head of the royal guards to the assistance of Antwerp, he had escaped every danger, and had paralyzed the English expedition, when Bernadotte arrived there. France will acknowledge, sooner or later when her hour of reverses shall come, the good conduct of all my brothers. All eagerly advanced to offer for her service their persons and their fortunes, my sisters even sacrificed with joy their jewels to pay for the recruiting of the army. Proscription and ruin are the effects of French gratitude at the present day.<sup>30</sup>

A pause now took place, Napoleon walked a few paces, stopped, looked at me, and said, in an expressive manner "None but myself ever did me any harm, I was, I may say, the only enemy to myself, my own projects, that expedition to Moscow, and the accidents which happened there, were the causes of my fall. I may, however, say, that those who



made no opposition to me, who readily agreed with me, entered into all my views, and submitted with facility, were those who did me the most injury, and were my greatest enemies; because, by the facility of conquest they afforded, they encouraged me to go too far. They were more my enemies than those who formed intrigues against me, because the latter put me upon my guard, and rendered me more careful."<sup>21</sup>

WHEN I began to form a court, I sought among the high officers of the army for names which, by their greatest and glorious celebrity, might worthily replace those which were the most illustrious of the ancient court. Some old names presented themselves to me; the Duchess of Montmorency, the Countess of Remusat, the Count of Bearn, and Count Segur, who had formerly been ambassador at Petersburg; it was, however, absolutely necessary to engraft these names upon names in the army, and which were connected with the revolution, in order to avoid provoking discontent and want of confidence among the people. I was also desirous of having done with the reasoners in the army of the Rhine, by rallying around my person the most brilliant amongst them. Caulaincourt had long served under Moreau, and he was entrusted with the task of sounding the feelings of his old comrades. Col. Preval, formerly an adjutant-general, and a very distinguished officer, was one of those whom I was desirous of having about my person. He belonged to a military family, and his fitness and abilities recommended him to my attention above all others. I was told that he rejected the proposition with contempt. I was not astonished for such, in fact, was the feeling by which all the faithful friends of Moreau were at that time influenced. Well, nothing could be more untrue!

Ten years afterwards, General Preval, whose personal qualities were so worthy of administration, was brought into immediate relation with me, and I found that he had never refused, but would have been delighted to have become a member of my household. It is a subject of regret both for him and for me, that he was prevented from becoming what I desired. He is an officer of great merit, and had he not been kept at a distance from me, I certainly should have made him minister of war, but I should have had to begin by conferring upon him dignity and rank. Under my reign, it was not so easy to find a suitable minister. No man in France understood the organization and mechanism of armies as well as General Preval. His military conduct at Frankfort was something perfect in policy, and on that occasion he furnished me with the standard of what might be expected from a general who was as intelligent as he was brave. But I am looking for examples of the effect of intrigues. Have I not, by such means, been deprived in the course of years of the services of Macdonald, Dalmas, Lecourbe, Carnot, and Dessoles? With respect to the last, however, I have nothing to regret, since his treason in 1814. In short, let it be proved to me, that any sovereign has shown himself more anxious than myself to do justice, or has better understood how to identify himself with the interests in his people, and then I shall repent of not having done more. I am, however, conscious that whilst on the throne, I constantly made it my first thought and desire to realize my motto "*Everything for the French people*"<sup>22</sup>

It has always been considered possible to have effected a landing in England, and when this landing was once effected, the question was reduced merely to a second battle of Austerlitz or of Jena. Did Hannibal look behind him when he

crossed the Alps. Did Cæsar, when he landed in Epirus, look back? London is only a few days' march from the coast of the channel; the army and the militia of England were extended over a very wide space; as for the coast-guards, it would have been impossible for them to have united at the point of disembarkation, or to reach London quickly enough to protect it. The place chosen for the landing was only known to myself. It might be Hastings, Torbay, or some point at the mouth of the Thames. It was quite necessary, therefore, to guard an extent of coast more than thirty leagues long, and four days would be necessary to collect forces for that purpose; whilst, in two, or three at the most, the French army, once disembarked, might have arrived in London with a van-guard of 50,000 men.

The flotillas were only to be the means of disembarking from 160 to 200,000 men, in the space of a few hours, and of taking possession of all the maritime places. They were to cross over, under the protection of a numerous squadron, assembled at Martinique, and coming with all speed to Boulogne; and if this fleet should miss its object one year, it might succeed another time. Fifty, sixty, eighty, or a hundred of the line, could sail from Toulon, from Brest, from Rochefort, L'Orient, Cadiz, and unite at some common rendezvous; this fleet would then appear in the English Channel like a dreadful tempest, whilst the English squadrons were engaged in scouring the seas for the protection of the East and West Indies. Had not the squadron of Toulon, although encumbered by 500 transport vessels, been able to gain Egypt, in spite of the English squadron under Lord Nelson? At Paris, in the Faubourg St Germain, every one laughed at the project of a landing; Pitt, however, did not laugh at it in London. He seems to have conceived almost all the extent of the danger. He therefore managed

to clog France with a coalition, at the very moment when she was about to execute her purpose the English oligarchy was never in greater danger<sup>33</sup>

If by events difficult to comprehend, the French army had been obliged to stop at the Medway, it would have done, in all the ports of the Thames and the roadstead of Ports mouth what the English did at Toulon, the arsenals of Portsmouth and Chatham would have been left in ruins, and for at least twenty years, the maritime power of England would have given no annoyance to France<sup>34</sup>

WHEN deplorable weakness and endless versatility manifest themselves in all the acts of power, when yielding, some times to the influence of one part, and sometimes to that of another, and living from day to day without any fixed plan, or any definite object in view, its possessors have exhibited the clearest evidence of their incapacity, and the most moderate citizens are compelled to agree that the state is not governed, when, finally, to the incapacity of the administration at home it is guilty of the greatest error which it is possible to commit in the eyes of a proud nation—viz, degradation in the opinion of foreign nations—then a vague restlessness begins to pervade the whole mass of society. It is deeply agitated by the fear of the loss of national reputation and honour, and turning its eyes upon itself, it appears to seek for a man capable of effecting its deliverance.

Such a tutelary genius is always to be found within the bosom of a populous nation but sometimes he is slow to appear, and, in fact, it is not enough that he exists, he must be known by others, and know himself, too. Till this happens, all attempts are vain, all intrigues powerless, the inaction of the multitude protects the nominal government

and, in despite of their efforts, its enemies do not prevail against it. But no sooner does this deliverer, so impatiently expected, appear, and give symptoms of his existence, than the national instinct divines it, and calls him to his post: obstacles disappear before him, and the whole of a great people unite, with one accord, and seem to say—this is the man!

Such was the state of the public mind in France, when the nation confided its destiny to my hands.

Peace, without having been gained in the field of battle, would have ruined the republic. War was absolutely necessary to maintain energy and unity in the state, as long as its administrative machinery did not work perfectly. Peace would have brought, in its train, a reduction of taxation, and a discharge of a part of the army. Many men had been under arms since the *levy en masse*, in 1792, and were only raised for the defence of the country. To have detained them in service, when the republic was at peace with the Continent would have been to abuse their patriotism, and provoke dissatisfaction and discontent amongst a great number of families, and under all circumstances, it would have been necessary to give them their discharge. The consequence would have been that France, after two years of peace would have found herself in a notorious and dangerous inferiority in the presence of the whole of monarchial Europe, which as necessarily would have continued to be allied against her republican institutions.

I owed it, however, to public opinion to open negotiations for peace; and the majority of the nation wished ardently for it, and circumstances appeared favourable to its conclusion.<sup>35</sup>

HAD it not been for the treachery of 1814, the face of com-

merce would now be changed, as well as the route of industry, the impulse was immense, and our manufacturing interests and property were increasing immeasurably, the progress of knowledge was gigantic, ideas were everywhere being rectified, and science becoming popular in France. I have been careful not to fall into the errors of men of system, of preferring myself, and my own ideas to the wisdom of nations. True wisdom is the result of experience, the economists who preach up freedom of trade, constantly quote the commercial prosperity of England as a model for imitation, but England is the country of prohibitions, and, in some things, she is right, for protection is always necessary to encourage rising industry, and in such cases, the value of this protection cannot be replaced by customs—smuggling destroys the object of the law. Men in general fall far short of the truth in the solution of all these questions, so vital to national prosperity

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The cabinet of Lord Castlereagh, as well as that of the Venetian aristocracy, suffered itself to be ruled by old women. The great Lord Chatham said—If England were to act with justice towards France, for twenty four hours only, she would run to her ruin. England is indebted to Lord Castlereagh for all the embarrassments of her situation, and the crisis which threatened her. A man must have been blinded by an absurd respect for the opinions of Lord Chatham, or by a more absurd vanity of disinterestedness worthy of a new *Don Quixote*, to have acted as Lord Castlereagh did at the congress of Vienna, at a time when Austria acquired 10,000,000 of people, Russia 8,000,000, Prussia 10,000,000, and even Holland, Bavaria, and Sardinia obtained extensions of territory. England would not have asked too much as an indemnity for the almost in-

credible and impossible efforts which she had made, if she had demanded and required the establishment of small maritime independent states put under her protection, such as Hamburgh, Bremen, Lubeck, Stralsund, Dantzic, Antwerp, Genoa, and Venice, to serve as an entrepot for her manufactures, with secret stipulations, which should ensure her the means of extending her trade with moderate competition. A still graver fault, however, was committed, by suffering Russia to obtain the crown of Poland. It would have been a hundred times better to have given it to the King of Prussia, or the Emperor of Austria; nor should the Emperor of Russia have been allowed to usurp the protectorate of the four provinces on the Danube. Russia is aggressive by nature—sooner or later she will make an irruption into Europe; and this, in fact, is her duty for advancing the progress of civilization among the four-fifths of her population. Such an irruption would be a powerful and seductive means of consolidating her rule over the numerous and valiant races who dwell on her frontiers. They would be drawn towards her by the fabulous tales of the pleasures of Europe: all would successively be grouped in the ranks of the Russian light troops. The attractions of the plunder of a city like Paris are much more than sufficient to induce all the barbarians of the north to unite in a predatory incursion into Europe. These nations have all elements of success; they are brave, active, and indefatigable, insensible to changes of climate; they subsist upon very little, and submit to discipline like brutes.<sup>36</sup>

THE first element of the well-being of a nation consists in a just equilibrium between the amount of taxes imposed for the maintenance of the public revenue, and the surplus of the price of its labour; unfortunately, however, the taxes

are not productive till they reach the masses of the people, and whenever they affect the bread of the people they engender misery and all those scourges which it brings in its train

It is imperative on England to endeavor to combat this devouring monster—her debt—by all positive and negative means—by the reduction of her expenses and the increase of commerce with the whole world. In making reductions, she must be unsparing, it is necessary to cut to the quick, when mortification threatens. In the case of sinecures, salaries, and the expense of her land armies, reforms must be sweeping. The political greatness of England consists in her navy, and not in those small armies which she sent to the continent in the train of the large armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

It is equally necessary for her to have recourse to a wise reform of innumerable abuses, connected with ecclesiastical property, the position of farmers in reference to their land lords, the administration of Ireland, as respects the mother country, and that kind of social interdict, which is imposed upon nearly one-third of the population of Great Britain, in consequence of their religious faith, and finally by a free admission of all those really interested to the rights and privileges of electors. The present state of the electoral franchise is nothing more than a brilliant deception, which places the majority of parliament to the nomination of the aristocracy and the crown. As to Ireland, she possesses the fiction of a representation in parliament, but it is true that she is, in fact, a conquered country. It would have been, in reality, much better for her to have been treated as a conquered country, and then she would, at least, have had the advantage of not seeing her national debt doubled by fusion with that of England.



In England the aristocracy are absolute masters, and the moment that any reform threatens to touch their power of privileges, they have recourse to the habitual cry—"The foundations of the constitution—touch the foundations, and the whole edifice will fall into ruins—and the liberties of the nation be destroyed." It is true that in spite of its monstrous defects, when viewed in connection with the civilization of the age, the English constitution presents the curious phenomenon of a magnificent result; and it is the blessings of this result which make the people afraid of risking their loss, but how much more would these advantages be felt, if wise reforms were employed to facilitate the motions of this grand and beautiful machine!<sup>37</sup>

SIR HUDSON LOWE had now left us for some days in tranquility. The Emperor had resumed his habit of taking exercise, and worked a great deal. Some news which he received from his brother Joseph, led him to speak of Spain; he told me that during the hundred days, the most influential chiefs of the Cortes of Cadiz, the guerillas and the army had communicated with him, and assured him that an aid in money would enable them to bring back King Joseph to Madrid, and to effect in Spain what the landing at Cannes had produced in France; so deeply had an immense majority of the Spaniards become aware, since the return of Ferdinand, of all the benefits to Spain contained in the constitution of Bayonne. "In my other circumstances," added the Emperor, "I would have assisted them, but I did not wish to render my position more complicated by interfering in the affairs of others before having finished my own. I could not forget that the misfortunes of 1813 and 1814 proceeded from my intervention in the affairs of Spain. It was the events of Bayonne which destroyed my morality in Europe,

divided my forces, multiplied my embarrassments, and opened a school to the English army I committed, besides, great faults in the choice of my instruments, for the fault lies much more in the machinery than in the principle ' 38

"My intention was to make France greater than any other nation, but universal dominion I did not aim at For example, it was not my intention to have passed the Alps I purposed, when I had a second son, which I had reason to hope for, to have made him king of Italy, with Rome for his capital, uniting all Italy, Naples, and Sicily into one kingdom, and putting Murat out of Naples " 39

THAT I proved to the Emperor Alexander my repugnance to make war against him, and the sincerity of the fraternal faith which we had sworn to each other at Erfurt, when I sent my aide de-camp Narbonne to him, again to offer him a friendly hand, and to propose an interview which should re establish harmony between us it was not my fault if he would neither receive Lauriston nor Narbonne

It is true, that after having passed the Niemen at the head of 400,000 men, I said, It is too late, the glove has been thrown down and taken up But from the moment when I received and listened to the Emperor's messenger, peace was still possible, and it would have been re established without a drop of blood being spilled, if the Emperor Alexander had frankly wished it, or rather if he could have wished it in opposition to the will of his Boyards, who desired war at any price, because they were ruined by the continental system, and were determined, cost what it might, to sell their tallow, hemp, and copper, to England

To sum up, I made war against Russia in spite of myself I knew, better than the libellers who reproach me with it,

that Spain was a devouring cancer, which I ought to cure before engaging myself in a terrible struggle, the first blow of which would be struck at a distance of five hundred leagues from my frontiers. Poland and its resources were but poetry in the first months of the year 1812. The Emperor Alexander knows this quite as well as I do.

Doubtless, I reckoned on the good faith of the Emperor of Austria. Family ties have always seemed sacred to me, and even yet I cannot bring myself to believe that they may be broken without dishonour, and without being wanting to what is most sacred to man; but I only reckoned upon Prussia in so far as I should be victorious; and certainly I was not so mad as to think, like Charles XII, that I could conquer Russia without immense efforts. I knew the bravery of the Russian army: the war of 1807 had proved it to me; and moreover, there was nothing to be hoped for from the influence of French ideas on this half-civilized population. I could not forget that when I spoke of liberty to the Polish serfs, they replied: "Yes, we are perfectly willing to have it, but who will feed, lodge, and clothe us?" I love the Polish soldier, but I love France above everything else; and I should not have made war against Russia solely for the purpose of forwarding the interests of the Polish nobility, and of making a Poniatowski king of Poland. Poland is the necessary and natural barrier of central Europe against Russia. The re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, with Galicia and the coast of the Baltic—this was to be, in my thoughts, the work of my diplomacy. The Emperor must remember that this was the subject of our conversation at Erfurt, and that he then offered to exchange his Polish provinces for Constantinople. Under this arrangement, Syria and Egypt would have supplied to France the loss of her colonies. Constantinople, which in

the year 1811 was an enormous difficulty, is now scarcely to be called one

I should have been mad, if I had made the war of 1812 for the purpose of effecting a thing which I could have effected by means of amicable negotiations

I repeat that I did not wish for war, and I think I have proved this <sup>40</sup>

THE month of March sadly recalled to his thoughts days of storm and misfortune, these recollections became the subject of his conversation, and of the following dictations

"I had at once accepted the consequences of the additional act, I had recognized the necessities of the new situation in which I found myself on being replaced on the throne I proved this when I said to Benjamin Constant

"The nation has been at rest for a period of twelve years from any political agitation, and has now for a year been free from that of war, this double repose has caused her again to feel the need of activity She wishes, or thinks she wishes, for liberty, a tribune, assemblies she did not always desire these, she was weary of them when she threw herself at my feet, in order to raise me upon the shield You should remember this, you who endeavoured to oppose my accession to the throne Where was your support, your strength? You had none I took less authority than I was invited to do Remember the time when I said in the Council of State You think perhaps that I desire power? I have more of it than I need Who resists me now in France, or even in Europe? But I wish to lay a foundation of society Look around you—what do you see? On one hand, Vendéans who seem entirely under the guidance of the emigrés, whom I recalled, priests, to whom I have restored their altars, but who, in their hearts, while receiving all the

benefits I bestow on them; detest me; on the other, revolutionists divided ad infinitum, betraying and accusing one another; and in addition to all this, a liberated nation, which no longer knows to whom to listen or on whom to rely; which demands repose, and wishes no longer to think of anything for itself. And you look upon this as a good state of society? It is with the young that I will form a true society, animated by the healthy ideas of the age, and by the sentiments of real patriotism, and which, having no false ideas of the past, or of the hatred of the present, will be worthy to succeed us, and will be able to realize the true ideas of those who made the revolution. The constitution of the year XIII and the civil code are my works. The Bourbons wished to stifle my glory beneath the restraint of liberty; they re-awakened, by the weakness of their administration and also by the false pretensions of those who surrounded them, some of the passions of 1789. The taste for constitutions, and harangues seems to be returning; but do not deceive yourselves; it is neither the wish of the people, nor is it what they require. The mass of the people want but one thing to deliver them from the Bourbons, and from the feudal consequences of their reign; and this thing is—myself. And did you not see this whole people pressing round my steps, calling me, seeking me, saluting me with their acclamations from Cannes to the Tuileries? I am not the Emperor of the soldiers alone, as the gentlemen liberals are pleased to say; I am the Emperor of the peasants, of the plebeians, of my reverses, you have seen the nation return to me en masse; it is privileges; the old nobility served me; they passed in crowds into my ante-chambers. There were no places which they did not accept, request, solicit. I have had in my service Montmorencys, Brancases, Noailles, Beauveans, Bearns, Montemarts; but there was never analogy in this.

The horse made curves, he was well trained, but I felt him quiver '41

'WHAT will be the result of the proceedings of the Holy Alliance? Europe will sooner or later form but two camps, kings and their followers on one side, nations and their interests on the other. It will no longer be divided by nationality into kingdoms but will be divided by colour, by opinion. Who would venture to predict the crisis, the effects of so many storms now piled heap upon heap on the European horizon? As to the issue, it is indubitable, for enlightenment never retrogrades but to advance more successfully. Nations and kings will regret me, and if ever my son is restored to the French, he may say to them 'My father's thoughts were of you, on his rock in the midst of the Atlantic, I submit to your sanction the constitution which he has left as a legacy to me, with his advice, for the grandeur and prosperity of our beloved country' '42

"POSTERITY will do me justice. The truth will be known, and the good that I have done, with the faults that I have committed, will be compared. I am not uneasy for the result. Had I succeeded, I should have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man. my elevation was unparalleled, *because* unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have gained. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. *From nothing I raised myself* to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. My ambition was great, I admit, but it was of a cold nature, and caused by events, and the opinion of

great bodies. I have always been of opinion, that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the imperial government was a kind of republic.”<sup>43</sup>

“My son should not think of avenging my death; he should profit by it. Let the remembrance of what I have done never leave his mind; let him always be like me, every inch a Frenchman. The aim of all his efforts should be, to reign by peace: if he should recommence my wars out of pure love of imitation, and without any absolute necessity, he would be a mere ape. To do my work over again would be to suppose that I had done nothing; to complete it, on the contrary, would be to show the solidity of the basis, and explain the whole plan of an edifice which I had only roughly sketched; the same thing is not done twice in a century: I was obliged to daunt Europe by my arms; in the present day, the way is to convince her. I saved the revolution which was about to perish; I raised it from its ruins, and showed it to the world beaming with glory. I have implanted new ideas in France and in Europe; they cannot retrograde: let my son bring into blossom all that I have sown; let him develop all the elements of prosperity enclosed in the soil of France, and by these means he may yet be a great sovereign.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“The Bourbons will not maintain their position after my death; a reaction in my favour will take place everywhere, even in England; this will be a fine inheritance for my son. It is possible that the English, in order to efface the remembrance of their persecutions, will favour my son’s return to France; but in order to live in a good understanding with England, it is necessary, at any cost, to favour her commercial interests. This necessity leads to one of these two con-

sequences—war with England, or a sharing of the commerce of the world with her. This second condition is the only one possible in the present day, the exterior question will long take precedence in France of the interior. I bequeath to my son sufficient strength, and sympathy and conciliatory diplomacy. His position at Vienna is deplorable. Will Austria set him at liberty unconditionally? But after all Francis I was once in a more critical position, and yet his French nationality was nothing impaired by it. Let not my son ever mount the throne by the aid of foreign influence, his aim should not be to fulfil a desire to reign, but to deserve the approbation of posterity. Let him cherish an intimacy with my family, whether it shall be in his power. My mother is a woman of the old school, Joseph and Eugene are able to give him good counsel, Hortense and Catherine are superior women. If he remains in exile, let him marry one of my nieces. If France recalls him, let him seek the hand of a princess of Russia: this court is the only one where family ties rule policy. The alliance which he may contract should tend to increase the exterior influence of France, and not to introduce a foreign influence into its counsels. The French nation, when it is not taken the wrong way, is more easily governed than any other, its prompt and easy comprehension is unequalled, it immediately discerns who labours for, and who against it, but then it is necessary always to speak to its senses, otherwise its uneasy spirit gnaws, it ferments and explodes.

“My son will arrive after a time of civil troubles, he has but one party to fear—that of the Duke of Orleans: this party has been germinating for a long time. On this point, repeat to him what Bertrand said to me: let him despise all parties, and only see the mass of the people, excepting those who have betrayed their country, he ought to forget the



previous conduct of all men, and reward talent, merit, and services, wherever he find them. Chateaubriand, notwithstanding his libel, is a good Frenchman.

"France is the country where the chiefs of parties have the least influence; to rest for support on them is to build on sand. Great things can only be done in France by having the support of the mass of the people; and besides, a government should always seek for support where it is really to be found. There are moral laws as inflexible and imperious as the physical ones. The Bourbons can only rely for support on the nobles and the priests, whatever may be the constitution which they are made to adopt; the water will descend again to its level, in spite of the machine which has raised it for a moment. I, on the contrary, relied on the whole mass of the people without exception. I set the example of a government which favoured the interests of all. I did not govern by the help of, or solely for, either the nobles, the priests, the citizens, or the tradesmen; I governed for the whole community, for the whole family of the French nation. To divide the interests of a nation is to injure them all, and engender civil war. A thing indivisible by nature cannot be divided; it can only be mutilated. I attach no importance to the constitution, of the principal bases of which I had made a draft. Good to-day, it may be bad to-morrow; and besides, nothing should be definitely settled on this point without the formal consent of the nation; but its fundamental principle should be the universality of votes.

"My nobility will afford no support to my son; I required more than one generation to succeed in making them assume my colour, and preserve my tradition, the sacred deposit of my moral conquests. From the year 1815, all the grandees openly espoused the opposite party. I felt no reliance either

on my marshals or my nobility, nor even on my colonels, but the whole mass of my people and the whole army, up to the grade of captain, were on my side. I was not deceived in feeling this confidence, they owe much to me. I was their true representative. My dictatorship was indispensable, and the proof of this is, that they always offered me more power than I desired. In the present day, there is nothing possible in France but what is necessary. It will not be the same with my son: his power will be disputed, he must anticipate every desire for liberty. It is, besides, easier, in ordinary times, to reign with the help of the Chambers than alone. The assemblies take a great part of your responsibility, and nothing is more easy than always to have the majority on your side, but care must be taken not to demoralize the country. The influence of the government in France is immense, and if it understands the way it has no need of employing corruption in order to find support on all sides. The aim of a sovereign is not only to reign, but to diffuse instruction, morality, and well being, and anything false is but a bad aid.

"In my youth, I, too, entertained some illusions, but I soon recovered from them. The great orators who rule the assemblies by the brilliancy of their eloquence are in general men of the most mediocre political talents: they should not be opposed in their own way, for they have always more noisy words at command than you. Their eloquence should be opposed by a serious and logical argument, their strength lies in vagueness, they should be brought back to the reality of facts, practical arguments destroy them. In the council, there were men possessed of argument—two and two make four. France possesses very clever practical men, the only thing necessary is to find them, and to give them the means of *reaching* the proper station, such

a one is at the plough, who ought to be in the council; and such another is minister, who ought to be at the plough. Let not my son be astonished to hear men, the most reasonable to all appearance, propose to him the most absurd plans. From the agrarian law to the despotism of the Grand Turk, every system finds an apologist in France; let him listen to them all, let him take every thing at its just value, and surround himself by all the real capacity of the country. The French people are influenced by two powerful passions, which seem opposed, but which, nevertheless, are derived from one and the same feeling—viz., love of liberty, and love of distinction. A government can only satisfy these two wants by the most exact justice. The law and action of the government must be equal towards all; honours and rewards must be bestowed on the men who seem in the eyes of all to be the most worthy of them. Merit may be pardoned, but not intrigue. The Order of the Legion of Honour has been an immense and powerful incitement to virtue, talent and courage; if ill employed, it would become a great evil, by alienating the whole army, if the spirit of court intrigue and coterie presided at its nomination or in its administration.

“My son will be obliged to allow the liberty of the press: this is a necessity in the present day. In order to govern, it is not necessary to pursue a more or less perfect theory, but to build with the materials which are under one’s hand; to submit to necessities, and profit by them. The liberty of the press ought to become, in the hands of the government, a powerful auxiliary in diffusing, through all the most distant corners of the empire, sound doctrines and good principles. To leave it to itself would be to fall asleep on the brink of a danger. On the conclusion of a general peace, I would have instituted a Directory of the Press,

composed of the ablest men of the country, and I would have diffused, even to the most distant hamlet, my ideas and my intentions. In the present day, it is impossible to remain, as one might have done three hundred years ago, a quiet spectator of the transformations of society, now, one must, under pain of death, either direct or hinder every thing.

"My son ought to be a man of new ideas, and of the cause which I have made triumphant everywhere. He ought to establish institutions which may efface all traces of the feudal law, secure the dignity of men, and develop those germs of prosperity which have been budding for centuries. He should propagate in all those countries now uncivilized and barbarous, the benefits of Christianity and civilization. Such should be the aim of all my son's thoughts, such is the cause for which I die a martyr to the hatred of the oligarchs, of which I am the object. Let him consider the holiness of my cause. Look at the regicides! They were formerly in the councils of a Bourbon, to-morrow they will return to their country—and I and mine expiate in tortures the blessings which I desired to bestow on nations. My enemies are the enemies of humanity, they desire to fetter the people, whom they regard like a flock of sheep, they endeavour to oppress France, and make the stream re ascend towards its source. Let them take care that it does not burst its bounds! With my son, all opposite interests may live in peace, new ideas be diffused and gather strength, without any violent shock or the sacrifice of any victims, and humanity be spared dreadful misfortunes. But if the blind hatred of kings still pursues my blood after my death, I shall then be avenged, but cruelly avenged. Civilization will suffer in every way if nations burst their bounds, and rivers of blood will be shed throughout the whole of Eur-

ope; the light of science and knowledge will be extinguished amid civil and foreign warfare; more than three hundred years of troubles will be required in order to destroy in Europe that royal authority which has but for a day represented the interests of all classes of men, but which struggled for several centuries before it could throw off the restraints of the middle ages. If, on the other hand, the North advances against civilization, the struggle will be of shorter duration, but the blows more fatal; the well-being of nations, all the results which it has taken so many years to obtain, will be destroyed, and none can foresee the disastrous consequences. The accession of my son is for the interest of nations, as well as of kings. Beyond the circle of ideas and principles for which we have fought, and which I have carried triumphantly through all difficulties, I see nought but slavery and confusion for France and for the whole of Europe.

"You will publish all that I have dictated or written, and you will engage my son to read and reflect upon it. You will tell him to protect all those who have served me well, and their number is large. My poor soldiers, so magnanimous, so devoted, are now perhaps in want of bread! What courage, what good sense is there in this French people! What buried riches, which will perhaps never again see the light of day! Europe is progressing towards an inevitable transformation; to endeavour to retard this progress, would be to lose strength by a useless struggle; to favour it, is to strengthen the hopes and wishes of all.

"There are desires of nationality which must be satisfied sooner or later, and it is towards this end that continued progress should be made. My son's position will not be exempt from immense difficulties; let him do by general consent what I was compelled by circumstances

to effect by force of arms When I was victorious over Russia, in 1812, the problem of a peace of a hundred years' duration was solved I cut the Gordian knot of nations, in the present day it must be united The remembrance of the thrones which I raised up, when it was for the interest of my general policy so to do, should be effaced In the year 1815, I exacted from my brothers that they should forget their royalty, and only take the title of French princes My son should follow this example, an opposite course would excite just alarm It is no longer in the North that great questions will be resolved, but in the Mediterranean there, there is enough to content all the ambition of the different powers, and the happiness of civilized nations may be purchased with fragments of barbarous lands Let the kings listen to reason, Europe will no longer afford matter for maintaining international hatreds Prejudices are dissipated and intermingled, routes of commerce are becoming multiplied, it is no longer possible for one nation to monopolize it As a means by which my son may see whether his administration be good, or the contrary—let him have an annual and particular report presented to him of the number of condemnations pronounced by the tribunals If crimes and delinquencies increase in number, it is a proof that misery is on the increase, and that society is ill governed their diminution, on the other hand, is a proof of the contrary

“Religious ideas have more influence than certain narrow minded philosophers are willing to believe they are capable of rendering great services to humanity By standing well with the Pope, an influence is still maintained over the consciences of a hundred millions of men Pius VII will be always well disposed towards my son he is a tolerant and enlightened old man Fatal circumstances em

broiled our cabinets; I regret this deeply. Fesch did not understand me; he upheld the party of the ultramontanes, the enemies of true religion in France. If you are permitted to return to France, you will still find many who have remained faithful to my memory. The best monument which they could raise to me would be to make a collection of all the ideas which I expressed in the council of state, for the administration of the empire; to collect all my instructions to my ministers; and to make a list of the works which I undertook, and of all the monuments which I raised in France and Italy. Marat, Daru, Molien, Merlin, and Cambaceres may contribute to this work; it will be the completion of what I charge Bignon to write on my foreign policy and the general heads which I have indicated to you on my wars. In what I have said in the council of state, a distinction must be made between the measures, good only for the moment, and those whose application is eternally true.

"Let my son often read and reflect on history; this is the only true philosophy. Let him read and meditate on the wars of the greatest captains; this is the only means of rightly learning the science of war.

"But all that you say to him, or all that he learns, will be of little use to him if he has not in the depth of his heart that sacred fire and love of good which alone can effect great things.

"I will hope, however, that he will be worthy of his destiny."<sup>44</sup>

I\* observed that the distance was great, and that the Russians had not the money necessary for such a grand undertaking. "The distance is nothing," replied the emperor;

\* Dr. O'Meara.

"supplies can be easily carried upon camels, and the Cossacks will always insure a sufficiency of them. Money they will find when they arrive there. The hope of conquest would immediately unite armies of Cossacks and Calmucks without expense. Hold out to them the plunder of some rich cities as a lure, and thousands would flock to their banners. Europe," continued he, "and England in particular, ought to have prevented the union of Poland with Russia."

"A great object for England," added Napoleon, "ought to be to keep Belgium always separate from France, as France having Belgium, might be said, in case of war with England to have possession of Hamburgh, etc. It would, however, have been better for England that Austria had it, than that it should be possessed by Holland, because Austria is stronger, and when France arises from her present state of nothingness, Holland being too weak to stand alone, will always be at her feet."

"If I had succeeded in my expedition to Russia," added he, "I would have obliged Alexander to accede to the continental system against England, and thereby have compelled the latter to make peace. I would also have formed Poland into a separate and independent kingdom." I asked what kind of a peace he would have given to us. "A very good one," replied Napoleon. "I would only have insisted upon your discontinuing your vexations at sea."<sup>45</sup>

"WHAT he says," remarked Napoleon, "on the subject of my nobility is correct. What he says about my intentions and wishes to do away with everything which had been established since Charlemagne, is also right. That the nobility I formed was that of the people is true, as I took the son of a peasant, and made him a duke or a marshal



when I found that he had talents. That I wanted to introduce a system of general equality is true, and that every person should be eligible to every situation, provided he had talents to fill it, whatever his birth might be. That I wanted to do away with all the ancient prejudices of birth is also correct. That I laboured to establish a government of the people, which although *dur*, was still that of the people, is also true. That I ought to have deposed for my own security, the house of Brandenburg, when I had it in my power, and all the ancient orders of sovereigns; and that they almost always combined against and attacked me, is also right. Probably I ought to have done so, and I should have succeeded. It is true that I wished to establish a government of the people. It is a work which will much displease the oligarchy, because they do not wish that any person except one of themselves should be eligible for any important situation. With *their* will, birth, and not talents or capability, should regulate the choice. A worse, a more despotic or unforgiving government than an oligarchy never existed. Offend them once, you are never pardoned, and no treatment can be too cruel for you when in their power.”<sup>46</sup>

## XXIV.

### THE DEATH OF NAPOLEON

"It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well "

NAPOLEON.

NAPOLEON plainly and frankly stated at the opening of his career that he was ambitious to become famous. As it is inconceivable that his idea of fame was other than that of distinction for great deeds, this hypothesis furnishes an intelligible solution of his remarkable, though comparatively short life. He explained that his idea of immortality was to be remembered by posterity, and naturally this must be understood to mean that he wished to be regarded as having accomplished all the benefit for the world that was humanly possible. His acts were usually the result of deliberation and with this purpose constantly in view. If his career meant nothing more than to have been able to close his life in a palace as an Emperor, then as some men judge the affairs of this world, his life was a failure. Those, however, who have been privileged to stand beside his bier and meditate there in the magnificent temple in which the French nation deposited his remains, find an impressive, though silent declaration that he succeeded—he realized the dearest wish of his heart:—**NAPOLEON IS FAMOUS.**

## NAPOLEON

Yet well thy soul hath brooked the turning tide  
With that untaught innate philosophy  
Which, be it wisdom, coldness, or deep pride,  
Is gall and wormwood to an enemy.  
When the whole host of hatred strove hard by,  
To watch and mock thee shrinking, thou hast smiled  
With a sedate and all-enduring eye,—  
When fortune fled her spoiled and favorite child,  
He stood unbowed beneath the ills upon him piled.

BYRON.

THE Emperor also dictated to me a letter, which I was to write to Sir Hudson Lowe to announce his death. It is as follows:—

“Monsieur Le Gouverneur,—The Emperor Napoleon breathed his last on the —, after a long and painful illness. I have the honour to communicate this intelligence to you.

The Emperor has authorized me to communicate to you, if such be your desire, his last wishes. I beg you to inform me what are the arrangements prescribed by your government for the transportation of his remains to France, as well as those relating to the persons of his suite.

I have the honour to be, etc.,  
COUNT MONTHOLON.”

The idea of this letter of itself furnishes a proof of the energetic character of the Emperor. That he should occupy himself with such details, when his last hours of agony were already being counted!

At four o'clock in the morning, he made me bring a table to his bedside, and occupied himself for two hours in dictating two projects to me, one on the destination of Versailles, the other on the organization of the national guard for the defence of the kingdom. He made me entitle this dictation—*Premiere Reverie*. Astonishment has often been felt at the great faculties of the Emperor, which permitted him on the eve of, or on the day after a battle, which either was about to decide or had decided the fate of a throne, to sign decrees, and occupy himself with matters purely administrative, but these facts are far inferior to the one which we here attest: but five days later, all that remained of his sublime genius was a corpse, and yet his thoughts were still constantly directed towards the happiness and future prospects of France<sup>11</sup>

NAPOLEON still preserved his presence of mind, and recommended to his executors, in case he should lose it, not to allow any other English physicians to approach him than Doctor Arnott. "I am going to die," said he, "and you to return to Europe. I must give you some advice as to the line of conduct you are to pursue. You have shared my exile, you will be faithful to my memory, and will not do any thing that may injure it. I have sanctioned all principles, and infused them into my laws and acts, I have not omitted a single one. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances in which I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity, and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred, I could not unbend the bow, and France has been deprived of the liberal institutions I intended to give her. She judges me with indulgence, she feels grateful for my intentions: she cherishes my name and my victories. Imitate her example, be faith

ful to the opinions we have defended, and to the glory we have acquired; any other course can only lead to shame and confusion.”<sup>2</sup>

#### THE FUNERAL AT ST. HELENA

Governor Lowe soon arrived at Longwood, and was shortly afterwards followed by the Admiral, and all the civil and military authorities. The weather was beautiful, the roads were crowded with people, and the hills covered with musicians: never had so mournful and so solemn a spectacle been before exhibited in the island. At half-past twelve the grenadiers took the coffin, which they could not lift without difficulty, and, after repeated and persevering efforts, succeeded in carrying it to and placing it on the hearse, which was waiting in the great walk in the garden; and it was then covered with a violet coloured velvet cloth, and the cloak which Napoleon wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household was in mourning; and the funeral procession was arranged, and proceeded in the order which had been regulated by the Governor himself.

ON the report of the death of Napoleon, there was in Europe but one single cry, one selfsame sentiment in the streets, in the shops, in the public places; even the saloons shewed some feeling; the cabinets alone shewed themselves insensible, worse than insensible! But, after all, it was natural, they breathed, at length, at their ease . . .

During his life, in the time of his power, he had been assailed with pamphlets and libels; on his death, we were suddenly inundated with productions in his praise—a contrast, nevertheless, that gives a little relief from so much meanness of the human heart. There were everywhere, and from all parts, compositions in prose and in verse, paintings,

portraits, pictures, lithographs, and a thousand little things more or less ingenuous, proving much better than all the pomp of kings could do the sincerity, the extent, the vivacity of the sentiments which he left behind him \*

COL. R. W. Phipps, who edited an English edition of Bourrienne's *Memoirs*, in the closing chapters thus sums up Napoleon's career "With Napoleon, despotism was a means, not an end. He sought power for no ignoble purposes. The contempt for sloth, lucre, disorder and empty theories, the eye so quick to see the decisive point of any question, the power of mind and the determination of brain which gave the world the Codes, the far reaching ambition, the constant looking forward to the judgment of posterity, the noble sacrifice of the present for the future,—all these are qualities too rare for the world to overlook

"Standing by the grave where the great Emperor sleeps, an Englishman may well ponder over a character alien to the English mind in its virtues as in its faults. England did not fear to face him when alive, the sneers of the courtier statesmen who found themselves and their petty policies swept by his strong hand forever from the scene, the shrieks of the vile revolutionary rabble on whom he set his heel, need not make Englishmen shrink from doing him justice in his glorious grave'

Lord Roseberry, England's great Napoleonic scholar in his *Napoleon—The Last Phase*, writes

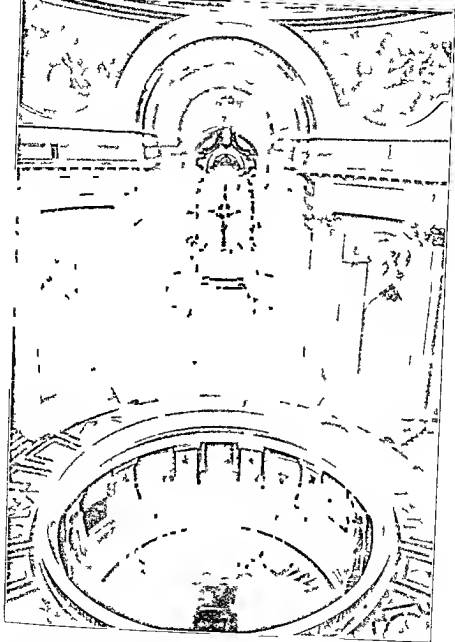
"It is too much to say, perhaps, that Napoleon received the honors of apotheosis, but short of that point it is difficult to exaggerate. He received at any rate, the most singular and sublime honor that has ever been awarded to humanity. For he was known in France not as General, or Consul, or Emperor, or even by his name, but simply as 'The Man'

(L'Homme). His son was the son of the Man: he himself was always 'The Man.' He was, in fact, the man of the popular imagination, and it was thus that Liberals swore by him. His intense individuality, even more than his horror of anarchy, had made him an absolute ruler. But as the product of the Revolution, as the humbler of kings, a glamour of liberty grew around his name. He had gratified the passion for equality by founding the fourth dynasty, though sprung from nothing; he had kept out the Bourbons: he had, above all, crushed and abased the chiefs of that Holy Alliance which weighed so heavily on Europe, which endeavored to tread out the last embers of the French Revolution, and which represented an embodied hostility to freedom. So regarded, it is not wonderful that the image of Napoleon became the idol of Continental Liberalism. Later on, again, it was stamped on a more definite plan. Authoritative democracy, or, in other words, democratic dictatorship, the idea which produced the Second Empire in France, which is still alive there, and which, in various forms, had found favor elsewhere, is the political legacy, perhaps the final message of Napoleon."

#### THE SECOND FUNERAL

Speaking of the return of Napoleon's remains from St. Helena, Lord Roseberry says:

"It was then that the dead conqueror made the most majestic of his entrances into his capital. On a bitter December morning the King of the French, surrounded by the princes and ministers and splendors of France, sat in silent state under the dome of the Invalides, awaiting the arrival of the corpse. Suddenly a chamberlain appearing at the door announced, in a clear and resonant voice, 'l'Empereur,' as if it were the living sovereign, and the vast



### THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON

*Hôtel des Invalides Paris*

It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine  
in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well





and illustrious assembly rose with a common emotion as the body was borne slowly in. The spectators could not restrain their tears as they realized the pathos and significance of the scene. Behind the coffin walked the surviving exiles of St. Helena: it was the undisputed privilege of Bertrand to lay his master's sword upon the pall."

IN 1855, the Queen of England stood with Napoleon III beside the First Napoleon's tomb; her silent homage to the memory of a great enemy typified the national feeling, which could well afford to let old hatreds die, and dwell chiefly on the great achievements of the soldier and monarch, and the kindly impulses of the man.

" . . . since he had  
The genius to be loved, why let him have  
The justice to be honoured in his grave.  
I think this nation's tears thus poured together,  
Better than shouts. I think this funeral  
Grander than crownings, though a Pope bless all  
I think this grave stronger than thrones."<sup>5</sup>

THE END



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- 2 Fauvelet Bourrienne. Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte. London, 1885.
- 3-4 Count Las Cases. Memoirs of Napoleon. New York, 1879.
- 5 Barry E. O'Meara. Napoleon in Exile. New York, 1889.

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